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ABSTRACT

This monograph contains seven papers presented at a 1977 symposium held to reevaluate the 1947 research work, "The People of Puerto Rico." (1) Sidney Mintz discusses the role of Puerto Rico in modern social science. (2) Eric Wolf, one of the authors of the 1947 work, comments retrospectively on some of the conceptual and methodological strengths and shortcomings of the original research. (3) William Roseberry analyzes "The People of Puerto Rico" in the context of the recent convergence of Marxism and anthropology. (4) Rafael L. Ramirez, in "Treinta anos de antropologia en Puerto Rico" (in Spanish), considers anthropology's position within the general development of social sciences since the 1940s, pointing out the discipline's influence in the island's politics. (5) Rene Velazquez examines Julian Steward's perspective on Puerto Rico and criticizes Steward's emphasis on the importance of material aspects of culture. (6) Ronald J. Duncan discusses the "culturing system" concept and asserts that cultural typologizing sacrifices ethnographic accuracy for theoretical tightness. (7) In "El pueblo de Puerto Rico: Donde esta el Pueblo?" Eduardo Seda, one of the 1947 project's researchers, discusses social science research in Puerto Rico in relation to colonialism and imperialism. (GC)

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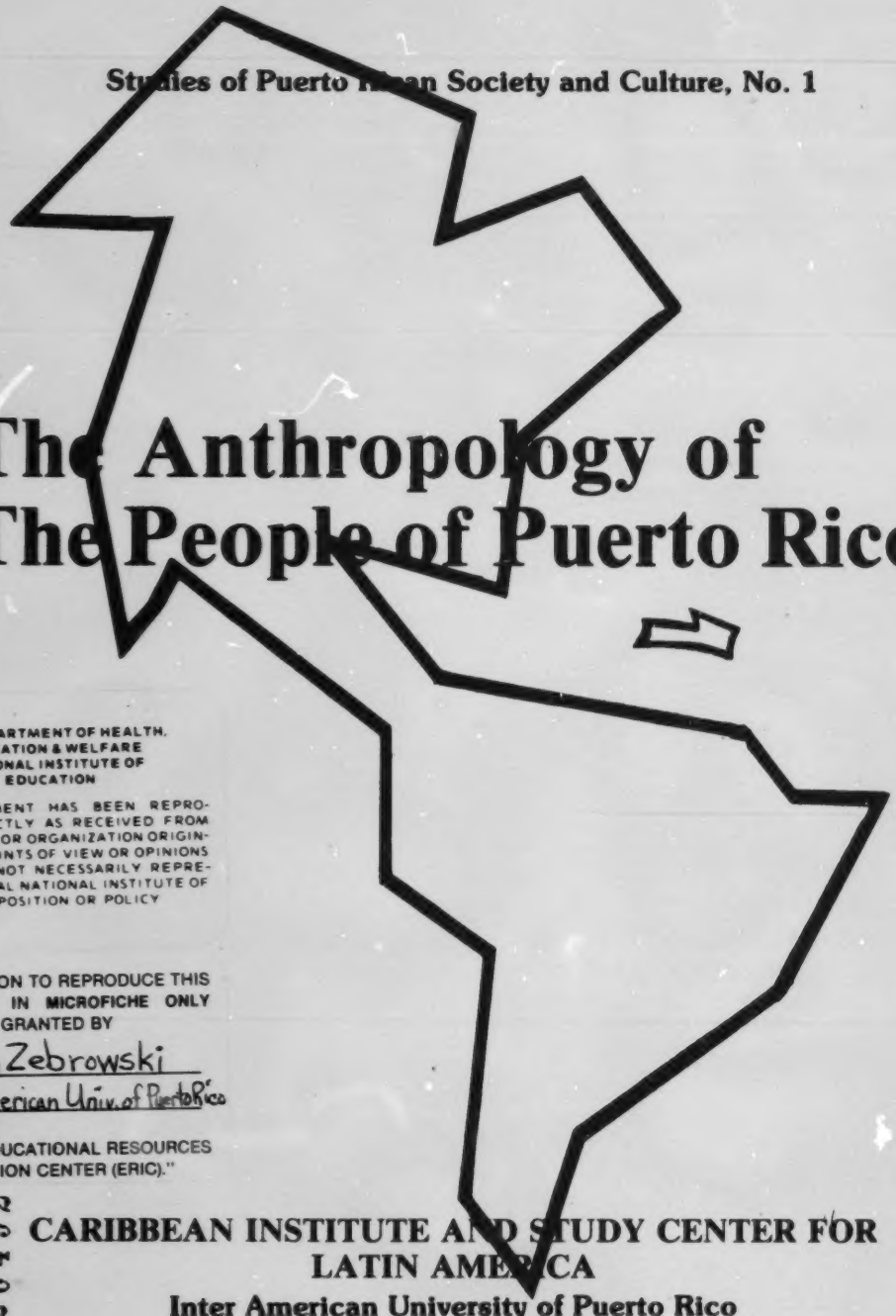

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The Anthropology of The People of Puerto Rico

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Caribbean Institute and Study Center for
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Inter American University of Puerto Rico
San Germán

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Preface

With this monograph the Caribbean Institute and Study Center for Latin American (CISCLA) of Inter American University of Puerto Rico initiates a monograph series, "Studies in Puerto Rican Society and Culture." It is the desire of CISCLA that this series will provide stimulus to the scientific evaluation of important issues in Puerto Rican society. This first number addresses itself to the correctness of social science methodology in the study of Puerto Rican populations. The second number will evaluate the social and economic development of Puerto Rico. Other future numbers will be determined on an annual basis.

An earlier edition of this work included only six of the present seven articles. The Editor and CISCLA believe that the seventh article written by Dr. Eduardo Seda is essential to a more complete evaluation of *The People of Puerto Rico,* and it is included in the present edition. Doctor Seda is the only member of the original research group to continue to live and work professionally as an anthropologist in Puerto Rico; and he provides a perspective unique to his experience.

CISCLA wishes to express its gratitude to Dr. Ramón A. Cruz, President of Inter American University of Puerto Rico, and to Dr. Federico Matheu, Chancellor of the San Germán Campus, for their unfailing support of CISCLA's goal for furthering scientific scholarship through conferences and publications. It is hoped that this new monograph series on Puerto Rican society will further the University's goal of service to the community. We want to thank the editorial staff of Inter American University Press for their assistance in preparing the initial publication of these materials.

Editor

Introduction
Social Anthropology in Puerto Rico

Ronald J. Duncan
Guest Editor

In March, 1977, a symposium was held at Inter American University in San Germán to reconsider *The People of Puerto Rico* twenty-five years after its completion. The symposium, sponsored by the Caribbean Institute and Study Center for Latin America (CISCLA) of the University, brought together a bilingual and bicultural group of scholars who share an interest in Puerto Rican society and culture, with the purpose of generating a general and diverse re-evaluation of an earlier era in anthropological methodology and theory as it related to Puerto Rico.

The People of Puerto Rico, an ambitious anthropological undertaking dating from 1947, "was part of a larger effort, supported by the Puerto Rican government through the University of Puerto Rico under its able chancellor, Dr. Jaime Benítez, to bring the skills and techniques of modern social science to bear upon social and economic problems of Puerto Rico."*

The book in its final form is a collection of research reports by Wolf, Mintz, Manners, Padilla and Scheele. Steward provided the introduction; the other background and concluding sections were written jointly. Steward's theory of cultural ecology provided the interpretative framework for the study.

The importance of the book was fourfold: *First*, it is one of the key studies of Puerto Rican society and culture. Though criticized by many, it includes the most extensive data collection and description of rural communities in Puerto Rico. Even though the study is now 30 years old, no comparable research effort has been made since. *Second*, the book was one of the earliest attempts to apply anthropological field research methodology to the study of

* Julian H. Steward, *The People of Puerto Rico* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p. v.

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a national society. Community and regional studies had been made previously, but this was an attempt to extend the analysis to a full national society. *Third*, it is here that Steward's theory of cultural ecology is set out and given its most extensive field research application: that technological adaptations to given ecological settings provided an analytical framework to explain human society and culture. *Fourth*, this project also launched the professional careers of Wolf, Mintz, Seda, Robert Manners, and Elena Padilla—which may be its single most important effect.

Each participant was asked to analyze some aspect of *The People of Puerto Rico*, particularly relating to the development of subsequent social science methodology. Where possible, attention was focused on Puerto Rico. Each person worked independently although each identified a theme within the overall subject.

This symposium not only brought together people who had participated in the original research, but many other people who had been influenced by the resulting publications. Some were interested in knowing how the research was conducted and others in remembering how it was: As can be expected, there were sharp differences between the remembrances: Wolf recalled the hot second story of a bank which served as their offices during the analysis and write-up of the material. The analysis and write-up were agreeable experiences, there were discussions, and the group worked with camaraderie. Someone remembered that they were paid by the page, which became an incentive to write more. Wolf points out in the opening of his article that this reconsideration of their earlier work was like a visit to old friends. In contrast, Eduardo Seda remembered the project in a harsher way, particularly the disagreeable experience of explaining colonialism to Steward in English.

The papers collected here do not constitute a complete re-evaluation of *The People of Puerto Rico*, but attempt to stimulate a new look at an important moment both in the development of social science methodology and in understanding of Puerto Rican society. The papers by Mintz, Wolf and Roseberry are basically supportive of the book. Ramírez is more neutral, and the Velázquez and Duncan contributions are more critical. It is hoped that out of this critical balance will come a proper perspective on this, one of the most important social science efforts of the mid-twentieth century.

The Role of Puerto Rico in Modern Social Science

Sidney Mintz

In order better to address the question of the part played by *The People of Puerto Rico*,[1] and by the study of Puerto Rican society, in the development of the social sciences (particularly anthropology), I would like first to make some brief comments about anthropology itself as a form of inquiry. A relatively young and unformed discipline, anthropology remained until quite recently a surprisingly unselfconscious and unself-critical discipline as well. Devoted traditionally to the study of peoples whose societies were numerically small, supposedly isolated, technically rudimentary, with an emphasis upon kinship and face-to-face relations as the basis for the social order, it was only in the 1930s that anthropology began—in the United States, at least—to move away from these preoccupations. Robert Redfield's *Tepoztlán*[2] and Margaret Mead's *Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe*[3] could be said to mark the beginnings of that change. Mead's study of the so-called "Antler" people—really the Omaha—touched on the daily realities of Native American life, pinched and despairing. It thus represented a step away from a common anthropological view, obviously inaccurate but much cherished, of Native Americans as unchanged and unchanging—and thus left open, at least, the possibility of confronting realities too long neglected. Alexander Lesser's *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game*,[4] remarkable for its time,

SIDNEY MINTZ, Professor of Anthropology at Johns Hopkins University, has been conducting research in Puerto Rico for 30 years. He has published widely in professional journals and the popular media, and is best known for *Worker in the Cane*. Dr. Mintz is a member of the Board of Consulting Editors of the *Revista/Review Interamericana*.

[1]. This paper was originally presented at the Inter-American University Conference on *The People of Puerto Rico*, by Julian H. Steward *et al.*, held at the San Germán Campus on March 10–12, 1977. The writer is grateful to Professor and Mrs. Ronald Duncan for their hospitality, and to the Inter American University for the opportunity to present these materials.

[2] Robert Redfield, *Tepotzlán* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[3] Margaret Mead, *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe*. Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology, 15 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

[4] Alexander Lesser, "The Pawnee Ghost-Dance Hand Game. A Study of Cultural Change,"

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demonstrated how aboriginal institutions change, and made the point that contemporary peoples, even if not definable as "primitive," were as important to the study of humankind—all humankind—as earlier studies had been.

Indeed, a related, if different message is to be found in those now less popular but very significant books by Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown*,[5] and *Middletown in Transition*.[6] In his introduction to the first volume, the anthropologist Clark Wissler tells us that the study is, in effect, the first ethnographic treatment of a North American town. Rich irony, then, that the Lynds were sociologists, and that they had considerable difficulty in finding a publisher for a book generally regarded today as a classic in the social sciences!

It was Julian Steward who suggested[7] that the signs of recognition of new fields of anthropological inquiry may have been conditioned by the world depression of the 1930s. Be that as it may, after the second World War studies of change, and of "modernizing peoples," increased in number. The Redfield-Linton-Herskovits memorandum on acculturation signalled that the anthropological establishment in North America had officially accepted the study of culture change as legitimate[8]—this carried with it the inevitable (and salutary) implication that anthropology would have to begin to deal with contemporary realities. Many postwar monographs suggest as much. Walter Goldschmidt's unjustly neglected *As You Sow*,[9] for instance, showed how anthropology might contribute to our understanding of the modern world. By a careful comparison of a California agro-town, with its massed labor, inadequate social institutions and misery, to a small-farm community in the same state, where people could live more decently, and with more dignity, Goldschmidt provided a message no less important though it has largely been ignored.

What had been exceptional in the 30s began to become conventional in the 40s. Julian Steward, in launching a new series of monographs published under the aegis of The Smithsonian Institution,[10] played a very important part in turning anthropology away from some of its former preoccupations. The project he organized for the study of Puerto Rican communities developed, I believe, from his own serious interest in an anthropology of modern life. That project, which counted among its participants such scholars as

Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, 16 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933).

[5] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929).

[6] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1937).

[7] Julian H. Steward, "Area Research: Theory and Practice," *Social Science Research Council Bulletin*, 63 (New York).

[8] Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist*, 38 (1936): 149–152.

[9] Walter R. Goldschmidt, *As You Sow* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1947).

[10] The Institute of Social Anthropology monographs, which began in 1944.

Delia Ortega, Elena Padilla, Charles Rosario, Angelina Saavedra and Eduardo Seda was, then, a link in the movement of anthropology away from its traditional interests. In spite of that work's very many limitations, it represents a valiant first effort, in my opinion, to deal with parts of a national society on more than a community basis, and to speak to issues raised by the stratified, hierarchical, politically and economically colonial, and class character of Puerto Rican life. In aiming at larger objectives, many of which it failed to realize, I believe this project may have opened some new vistas of what anthropology might become. I would like to note what I consider some of those vistas to be; but let me offer a preliminary comment here, within which I mean the succeeding assertions to rest.

Looking backward, it is easy to conclude that those whose work one evaluates were rather backward-looking. That is, it seems to me, just as it should be—but only as long as the exercise does not become one in second-guessing. Lest there be any doubt, then, let me say as clearly as I can that had Steward and his co-workers known what their critics know now, the project itself, and the written work in which it eventuated, would have been much better social science than they were. Keeping constant those failings of will, personality, intelligence, ideology, and imaginativeness that mark us all, there *is* a difference between 1948 and 1977, and it is not merely chronological.

Let me turn, then, to what I consider to be some of the positive gains represented by Steward's project, keeping in mind what I have already said. First, I believe that, among its other values, that project helped to make the Caribbean region part of anthropological consciousness. Though less so, perhaps, in the case of Puerto Rico than in the British, French and Dutch Caribbean, anthropology meant confronting seriously the problems posed by the whole vast phenomenon of Afro-America. In the retrospect of a quarter of a century, that may seem a trivial matter. But it needs to be remembered that Melville Herskovits,[11] almost alone, had championed the vital need to study the peoples and cultures of Afro-America and, with few exceptions, that cause had been resolutely rejected by North American anthropology. Morris Siegel's study of Lajas, never published; Karl Withers' study of a Cuban village which, like Siegel's, never reached print or even manuscript form; Métraux's team study of the Marbial Valley, Haiti;[12] and Raymond Smith's study of village domestic organization in then-British Guiana,[13] were among the signal achievements of the late 40s and early 50s—achievements of an anthropology formerly uninterested, for the most part, in living Caribbean peoples.

[11] See, for instance, Melville J. Herskovits, "The Negro in the New World: the Statement of a Problem," *American Anthropologist*, 32 (1930): 145–155.

[12] Alfred Métraux, "Making a living in the Marbial Valley, Haiti," *UNESCO Occasional Papers in Education*, 10 (Paris, 1951).

[13] Raymond T. Smith, *The Negro Family in British Guiana* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956).

In this same general connection, several related points might be made in passing. To say that the Steward project had less impact upon an Afro-American anthropology than would have been the case, say, had it dealt with Jamaica or Haiti, is by no means to underestimate the importance of Afro-Americana in Puerto Rico. Quite the contrary; it was precisely the glorification of the Native American and Spanish past, to the near-total exclusion of Afro-Americana, that long typified Puerto Rico historical scholarship, *quite without regard to ideology*, as Zenón Cruz's polemic[14] persuasively suggests. What Steward's students did not do sufficiently in this regard was to reflect enough over a racist ideology that succeeds by co-opting the victims, and by systematically underplaying the African component in Puerto Rican tradition.[15]

To this assertion allow me to add another: though the Steward project did not succeed in interesting any Puerto Rican co-worker in *other* Caribbean societies, it served at least to deepen interest in Puerto Rican society itself. I see that as a very positive gain, even while I see the failure it represents as a very real failure. Any serious student of the Antilles must be impressed by the insulocentric—if I may coin a word—character of Antillean social science. Were it not for the Cuban Revolution, one wonders, for instance, how much attention Puerto Rican social scientists might be giving to Cuba. As one crosses language borders as between, say the anglophone Caribbean and the hispanophone Caribbean, the lack of any regional sense strikes one even more forcefully. Jamaicans hardly seem to know the existence of places such as Martinique and Guadeloupe; Martiniquans, caught up in their political struggle with France, view Haiti only as a backward (if admirable) society, one that might equally well be located in the Indian Ocean; Haitians scorn

[14] I. Zenón Cruz, *Narciso descubre su trasero*, 2 vols. (Humacao, Puerto Rico: Editorial Furidi, 1975 y 1976).

[15] This is not the place to engage in trivial polemical undertakings, but I confess to a growing weariness with those critics who have difficulty understanding what I write, yet insist upon imposing their own interpretations. Dr. Eduardo Seda Bonilla has accused me of perpetuating the North American myth that in Puerto Rico race prejudice is social, and not biological, "because the term *'negrito'* is a term of affection, and after all, all Puerto Ricans believe they have had black persons among their ancestors" (E. Seda Bonilla, "Dos modelos de relaciones raciales," *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, Vol. XII, No. 4 [Dec. 1968], p. 582). I am also said to have claimed that race and class criteria cannot be distinguished in Puerto Rico, though the citation from my work, which is not attributed, and which I cannot find, certainly does not claim that. Finally, I am faulted for having cited Pedreira's *Insularismo*, which Dr. Seda Bonilla—I believe, with full reason—refers to as a racist analysis of Puerto Rican society (loc. cit., p. 583). Indeed, I take pains to note that Pedreira's argument is put "in somewhat mystical and racial terms" (S. Mintz, "Puerto Rico: An Essay in the Definition of a National Culture," *Status of Puerto Rico, Selected Background Studies*, p. 367).

I am guilty of none of the judgments Dr. Seda Bonilla has seen fit, for his own reasons, to hang on me, and I invite any interested reader (though I am not quite sure why there might be any) to judge for himself/herself. Dr. Seda Bonilla's valuable contributions to our understanding of race in Puerto Rico notwithstanding, it is perhaps of more than passing interest that his colleague, Dr. I. Zenón Cruz, finds Seda Bonilla's racial terminology faulty (Zenón Cruz, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 69).

French West Indians; and so on. The consistent tendency of Caribbean anthropologists, as part of this, to concentrate on the exclusive study of their own societies, an admittedly important first step in the creation of an indigenous social science, has so far admirably fulfilled that most cherished of European and North American imperialist dreams: that Caribbean peoples never move toward a perception of their historical, social and political common ground. How proud we shall all be when the first Puerto Rican anthropologist studies some other society—any other society—besides Puerto Rico!

But this argument deserves no more time; let me return to what I consider some of the other concrete gains represented by the Steward group. What I see as the second positive advance is the development of a *genre* of studies of lower-class rural people: illiterate rather than preliterate, proletarian or peasant rather than "tribal," and poor as a consequence of the development of underdevelopment, to use Frank's telling phrase, rather than due to low technical and capital inputs. Such studies got part of their first serious attention in the Caribbean region, and perhaps particularly in Puerto Rico. This assertion, however, carries in its train a number of different additional themes.

The uncritical transfer of methods developed for the study of small societies to the study of communities, communities only *definable* in terms of wider systems, received its first serious critical treatment in Puerto Rico. We are, clearly, still struggling to develop an adequate new methodology to meet our changing subject-matters; but at least we know now that we need it. It will no longer do to select problems so that the significance of wider linkages can be finessed by omission; nor is it—blessedly—any longer enough merely to say that there *are* such linkages; hereafter anthropology will have to do more than concede that a highway may be "worth more than" a hundred anthropologists.

Again, the Steward undertaking represents the first attempts by anthropologists to deal with broad categories of rural people in terms of their economic, political and social integration. These attempts included the blocking-in of such categories as rural proletariats and peasantries, and the contradistinction between haciendas and plantations (both "frontier" institutions of a kind, marking the spread of capitalist economy, at different levels, with different inputs and, to some extent, with different forms of labor exaction and different markets).

The work of Steward's students also included attempts to describe *cultural* institutions in terms of their *social* variation, as in different forms of patron-client relations, different expressions of folk catholicism, different elaborations of *compadrazgo*, and different forms of household and domestic organization. Such social variation often expresses and reflects differences of class within communities and regions; but variation of this kind, I suspect, cannot always be traced confidently to class differences alone. In attempting to develop conceptual distinctions between the social and the cultural—to

separate out, that is, historically-derived patterns from the situational contexts within which they are employed[16]—members of the Steward group were seeking to assess more acutely the significance of different productive relations in the architecture of Puerto Rican social institutions. But I daresay they were trying to do rather more, as well; whatever the simplemindedness of their analyses, they were not prepared to conclude that culture is no more than an artifact of class, any more than they would settle for the opposite.

Yet another way in which I believe the work of Steward and his students was useful is in regard to the uses and importance of history in social science, particularly the history of crops, of modes of labor exaction, and of so-called "development," as molded by expanding capitalist enterprise. We have received—those of us who continue to believe that Steward's work was important—serious criticism for not having relied more on our historian colleagues in Puerto Rico, when we were carrying out our investigations. I do not for a moment wish to underestimate or belittle the accomplishments of those colleagues. But if we cast among the Puerto Rican historians of the late 1940s, I think we shall conclude that few, if any, were working on kindred themes. To take but two illustrations—from which, however no moral can be drawn—it is useful to compare work on Puerto Rican slavery in the 1940s, and in the 1970s. Not only had young scholars comparable to, say, Guillermo Baralt not even appeared at the time; the very questions he can now put to his primary materials could not be asked until historians such as Luis Díaz Soler had done the essential preliminary work—and even so, Díaz's book did not appear until our fieldwork was long over.[17] Or, again, if we look at the question of forms of labor and labor exaction we find, it seems to me, a comparable difficulty. To whom should we have turned in 1948–49 to learn about the history of *agregados* in Puerto Rico, for instance? I call to the attention of those of you who may not have read it, and who are interested in such a question, to an article by G.E. Morales Muñoz, entitled "Un estatuto jurídico de los trabajadores domésticos," published in 1949,[18] and I ask you to compare this work with that of, say, Angel Quintero Rivera. Only by an honest attempt to recognize the status of research in Puerto Rico in the 1940s may some perspective be given to the limitations within which the Steward group had to work.

I appreciate Carlos Buitrago's contention, in the postscript to his book, *Esperanza*, that he found himself with nothing to teach when he sought to lead his classes into the agrarian history of Puerto Rico.[19] I am not inclined to

[16] This distinction is drawn in Steward's 1950 monograph, cited above, and has been elaborated and modified by theorists such as Wolf and Geertz in later work.

[17] Luis M. Díaz Soler, *Historia de la esclavitud negra en Puerto Rico (1493–1890)* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1953.)

[18] Readers may wish to note my discussion of this paper in an article I published in 1951, subsequently reprinted in S. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (Chicago: Aldine, 1974).

[19] Carlos Buitrago Ortiz, *Esperanza: An Ethnographic Study of a Peasant Community in Puerto Rico*. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 50 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973).

attribute this difficulty either to North American colonialism alone, or to the mistakes of the Steward group. Indeed, it surprised me that Buitrago feels *The People of Puerto Rico* has nothing to tell him, especially when compared to what else was available at the time it was written. That we may have done history badly I will readily concede; that we failed to know its importance, or to use resources that were available to us *at the time*, I would not.

Finally, I would add that the Steward enterprise also helped to sensitize us students, and some of those who have followed us, to the life-history approach to the past and to the present. As exemplified in the work of Michael G. Smith, for instance, in Grenada,[20] of Donald Hogg in Jamaica, and in my own work,[21] the life-history approach was moved from a consideration of the personal trajectories of "primitive" people—as in Mary Smith's lovely *Baba of Karo*,[22] or Paul Radin's pioneering *Crashing Thunder*[23]—to a means of depicting, on a modest canvas and thereby in greater detail, the impact of modern life upon the perceptions, insights and dreams of "ordinary" people. As such, the method becomes more than itself, revealing that "ordinary" people are—as always—quite *extra*ordinary, and do not accept their fate unknowingly or unresistingly, no matter how crushing their oppression.

What I am offering you are, I concede, mere brush-strokes, rather than a complete compendium of research innovations. Nor have I—since it did not appear to be my charge in this instance—discussed the important work of our Puerto Rican colleagues, both those who worked on the Steward project and those who came after, who may have been influenced by that research. Scholars such as Padilla, Hernández Alvarez, Maldonado Denis, Nieves Falcón, for instance, who have contributed richly to our understanding of Puerto Rico and the forces that have underlain the movements of its people, have received no attention here. Similarly, I have omitted reference to the many non-Puerto Rican scholars who have worked in Puerto Rico since the Steward volume appeared, and who may have been influenced, for better or worse, by the book itself.

But if I am inclined to view *The People of Puerto Rico* as representing some kind of turning-point in the social sciences in Puerto Rico, I must make some effort to link those scholars whose work predated its publication, with those who stand out in the contemporary scene. Indeed, fellow-participants have already done much of this, and I will confine myself to a few observations only.

Since the 1960s, social science theory in the United States has benefited from renewed interest in radical approaches to societal understanding, from

[20] M. G. Smith, *Dark Puritan* (Kingston, Jamaica: Herald, Ltd., 1963); Donald W. Hogg, "A West Indian shepherd," *In Context*, IV.2 (May, 1956), pp. 12–15.

[21] S. Mintz, *Worker in the Cane* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).

[22] Mary Smith, *Baba of Karo* (London: Faber and Faber, n.d.).

[23] Paul Radin, *Crashing Thunder* (New York: D. Appleton, 1926). Radin's use of the life-history approach went back at least to 1913, however.

the revival of the works of scholars such as Luxemberg, Gramsci, Veblen, and Marx and Engels; and from the appearance of new scholarship concentrating on the relationships of the industrial capitalist heartland to dependent, colonial spheres external to it. The writings of S. Amin, E. Archetti, T. Asad, C. Cardoso, A. G. Frank, E. Genovese, A. Palerm, T. Shanin, A. Warman, and E. Wolf, among others, have contributed to the creation of an atmosphere, *and content*, of scholarly discourse that was sorely lacking in the 40s and 50s, at least in the United States. Because I wish to set recent Puerto Rican scholarship in the context of such progress, allow me to refer to one work that promises, I believe, to contribute usefully to the development of important new debates: I. Wallerstein's *The Modern World-System*.[24] That book, which is the first of four projected volumes, was inspired as much by the researches of F. Braudel and M. Malowist, as by those of Marx himself. In it, Wallerstein conceptualizes a worldwide capitalist economy, taking shape as early as the sixteenth century, transcending national boundaries and political states. In Wallerstein's formulation, the world can be viewed as consisting of four segments or parts, only one of which lies outside the world economy. The other three parts are, first of all, Northern Europe, which constitutes the nucleus, or core, of the world economy; secondly, Southern Europe, which Wallerstein calls the "semiperiphery"; and lastly, Eastern Europe and the New World, which he labels the "periphery." Each such segment or part possesses its appropriate form of labor exaction—appropriate, that is, to the needs of the nucleus, and dictated by the relationships between nucleus and periphery: "free" (proletarian) labor at the core; semicoerced sharecropping and tenancy in the semiperiphery; and coerced or enslaved labor in the periphery.

Wallerstein has, of course, far more than this to say; and one can find unexplained or unproven assertions, as well as some errors, in his treatment. But his schema, like those of other, earlier scholars, helps us to explore a wide variety of possible relationships between core societies of the North European type and peripheral subregions, such as the Antilles. From his work there is now arising a very promising body of controversy, concerning such questions as how to define the "mode of production," the nature of the differences between free and bound labor (or between "proletarians" and "slaves"), the conceptualization of forms of labor exaction, the definition of subordinate areas, and so on. As is, it seems, always true in the social sciences (and as in nearly all else), Wallerstein's work owes much to his predecessors, among them Marx, Luxemberg, and A. G. Frank. His ideas, when vulgarized as I have vulgarized them here, seem obvious—once one grasps them. Like many other ideas, including some developed in *The People of Puerto Rico*, they are only new until one has learned them, whereupon they become obvious. By this I do not mean that they im-

[24] I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

mediately lose their freshness—only that one has difficulty imagining a time when one did not take them for granted.

I bring up Wallerstein's work because I find it exciting that renewed interest in the world economy should be growing internationally, at the very time when Puerto Rican scholars such as Quintero Rivera, Baralt, García and Ramos Mattei are turning afresh to the study of Puerto Rican economic history, with special attention to modes of production, and to the development of different forms of labor exaction in different regions and periods. Similarly, Buitrago Ortiz' declared intention[25] to teach about the Puerto Rican countryside, its history and economy, fits with what the historians appear to be doing.

To what extent can we say that such interests are new? In one sense, I would argue, not at all. J. Colombán Rosario's essay on the Puerto Rican peasantry,[26] and his book on Afro-Americans, written with Justina Carrión;[27] the provocative sociological papers by Morales-Otero and his co-workers;[28] the work of Fernández Méndez[29] and of Díaz Soler[30]— all these, and many other early contributions, convince me that the new scholarship is not so much marked by new interests, as by two quite other features. First, this new scholarship has better sources, and knows better, having prior work to build upon, how to use them. Second, and consistent with the first point, *these new scholars can ask better questions*.

That contemporary research by Puerto Rican scholars will prove to be more illuminating than that done by predecessors, Puerto Rican or not, strikes me as inarguable. The social sciences would be in an even sorrier state than they are, if the passing of a quarter of a century did not document material improvement in the operationalization of theory by the use of new methods, and the aggregation of data of better quality. This is not the place, it seems to me, to argue a lengthy defense of earlier work;[31] but it may be

[25] Op. cit.

[26] José C. Rosario, "The development of the Puerto Rican *jíbaro*," in V. Clark et al., *Porto Rico and its Problems* (Washington: *The Brookings Institute*, 1939).

[27] José C. Rosario and Justina Carrión, *El Negro* (San Juan: n.p., 1940).

[28] P. Morales-Otero et al., "Health and socio-economic studies in Puerto Rico," *The Puerto Rico Journal of Public Health and Tropical Medicine* (San Juan: School of Tropical Medicine, 1937–40).

[29] See, for instance, E. Fernández-Méndez, *Historia Cultural de Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, 1975).

[30] Op. cit.

[31] In the meetings at which these papers were first presented, I was criticized on two separate occasions for having written an essay on the definition of a national culture for the U.S.-Puerto Rico Senate Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. It seemed to me necessary, even though one inevitably feels uncomfortable in any defensive posture, to describe how and why I undertook the writing of that essay, particularly since my doing so has been interpreted as being in the service of North American imperialism, and I feel it essential to repeat what I said here.

I was invited to write the essay by the Hon. Ben Stephansky, who had served as Ambassador to Bolivia under Kennedy, after a long and honorable career as a labor lawyer. Ambassador

useful to note how current research in Puerto Rico may be integrated with research elsewhere, which is why I referred to studies by Wallerstein and others.

The part played by regions such as the Caribbean in the growth and consolidation of capitalism in the European heartland seems to me unquestionable; more at issue are the specific and particular ways in which that part was played. The North American historian Stanley Engerman has recently suggested[32] that the New World plantations could have contributed to European wealth and power in at least three different ways. First, there would be direct capital transfers, to finance economic activity in the metropolis. Second, there would be the demand created by the needs of the plantations for machinery, cloth, instruments of torture and other finished industrial products. Both of these possible sources of gain are in dispute, at least in terms of their gross effect on European enterprise. The third, which I find most interesting for present purposes, consists of the possible savings to capitalism represented by the provision of high-energy, low-cost food commodities to the working classes of Europe itself. In order to reckon the importance of this last hypothesis, it will eventually be necessary to study in detail the changing composition of European diet in the sixteenth to twentieth centuries. If, however, it turns out to be a persuasive hypothesis, it will reveal an intimate linkage between the coerced labor of the periphery and the free labor of the core, of a kind little dwelt upon by historians and anthropologists as yet.

Inevitably, such research will require a much more careful examination of forms of labor exaction in regions such as the Antilles and, for our present purposes, particularly in the Hispanic Antilles, including Puerto Rico. I state the case thus because, after the initial excavation of metallic wealth in the Hispanic Antilles, 1493-ca. 1550, Spain's islands contributed very little wealth to Europe itself for nearly two centuries. Only long after the spread of Spain's enemies into the Greater Antilles (Jamaica, 1655; St. Domingue, 1697), the English invasion of Havana (1762), and the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804), were the plantation economies of Cuba and Puerto Rico to be revived on a grand scale. Their development meant not only an intensification of slavery, but also the introduction of the hated workbook system in

Stephansky was entirely supportive in response to my insistence that, should I write such an essay, it would not deal with the political relevance of my arguments. I wrote as I saw fit. I do not find, on rereading the essay itself, that my point of view has changed significantly in the intervening years—now more than a decade. However, after the essay was published, I was sent by a colleague a copy of a scurrilous political advertisement in a San Juan newspaper, wherein what I had written was deliberately distorted to make a case against the independence of Puerto Rico. Without attempting here to deal with the *content* of my argument—which I still would defend, and which would take me very far afield—I wish to repeat that, had I had the good sense to realize how my thought would be employed, I would never have agreed to write the essay for the Status Commission. I am sorry that I did and, to the extent appropriate, I apologize to the people of Puerto Rico for any harm I may have done to the cause of any of them.

[32] Comments on Richardson and Boulle and the "Williams' thesis" are found in *Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-Mer*, vol. 62, (1975), nos. 226–227, pp. 331–336.

Puerto Rico,[33] and the massive importation of Chinese "contract" laborers to Cuba.[34] While one may, for purposes of simplification, refer to this period of renewed growth as marked by a "slave mode of production," careful study of each case swiftly makes clear that catch-all labels, even when representing ideal types, are not adequate to the analytic challenge. Chinese contract laborers in Cuba and *agregados* in Puerto Rico were not free in the same sense as European proletarians; neither were they, however, slaves like those Africans who worked alongside them. The problem raised by these circumstances are not solely semantic, or matters of degree. A good deal of serious research is needed, if we are to understand properly the relationships between core and periphery in analytically useful ways. The work of the Puerto Rican scholars I have mentioned, and that of many others besides, touches very directly upon these assertions. That work represents genuine advance in our understanding of Puerto Rican realities of the past and, indeed, of much of the present. That it builds creatively on earlier findings is exactly as it should be, even if questions of considerable complexity are raised by the work, questions to which definitive answers are still lacking.[35]

I have thought it appropriate to reckon the possible worth of the research of Steward and his students in this way, rather than in some other, because I detect in recent publications and statements by Puerto Rican social scientists an important change in intellectual climate. I was particularly interested to read Carlos Buitrago Ortiz' postscript to his book, *Esperanza*, not only for its lively criticism of anthropology and its expressed values, but also because it is frankly self-critical, in an honest and unaffected fashion. It seems to me not only fitting for scholars to examine the intentions, achievements, and failures of their discipline, but also to be continuously aware of their own failings, when they can detect them, or when they are pointed out by others. When such criticisms come from professionals whose personal life experiences have provided them with variant and distinctive insights, they acquire special meaning.

Thus, for instance, Buitrago tells us that he went to the University of Cambridge intending to do an anthropological study of Stendhal, or possibly of Dostoevski.[36] Buitrago reacted at first, he says, with hostility toward those who responded negatively to these proposals. But he finally concluded that a study of family and domestic organization might be suitable—and realized, at the same time, that his original interests may have been influenced to some extent by this past experience. He speaks with candor and imagination

[33] On this event, see, "Slavery and forced labor in Puerto Rico," in S. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations*.

[34] The best work so far on this development is a monograph by Dr. Denise Helly, to be published by the University of Montreal.

[35] See my paper, "Was the Plantation Slave a Proletarian?" forthcoming in *Reviews*.

[36] Buitrago Ortiz, op. cit.

about who he *is*, and how he *became* who he is—something too few of us are prepared to do in this way.

I believe that the variant and distinctive insights to which I refer may be rooted in at least three different phenomena. First, there is the ability to see anthropology in the broadest terms—that is, in terms of its underlying, partly concealed premises—that comes from the special view of one who is, or considers himself or herself to be, an "outsider." Second, there are the advantages of beginning to reveal to oneself where one stands in the stratificational system, the system of power, of one's own society and, thus, to be able to see the role one plays, and that played by one's profession, more clearly. Finally, there are the advantages that arise from insights created in part by the recognition that one's society is dependent and colonial. I suspect that these three convergent sources of insight endow critiques like Buitrago's—whatever their limitations, and I also believe these are many—with peculiar strength and pungency. I am sure as well, though it may be difficult to believe it at this juncture, that the next generation will endow the social sciences with other critiques, even more sophisticated, more knowledgeable, and equally frank—and that the process will repeat itself. At least, I hope so.

What I have tried to suggest here, then, in broad terms, is that the development of the social sciences in Puerto Rico has been a continuous, if irregular process; that Puerto Rico's character as a society has resulted in innovations in anthropology and the other social sciences, some of them holding rich promise; and that the time has clearly come when Puerto Rico's scholars need not rely on anyone else in contention with scholars from elsewhere, least of all from the mainland United States. I have tried to make these points in the retrospect of a quarter of a century, since the fieldwork on which *The People of Puerto Rico* is based was done. Without taking those intervening years into account, the meaning of the book, as well as the ideas and the work it represents, cannot possibly be grasped. Having said as much, it behooves me to add that scholarship flourishes in dialogue, not in isolation. Therein one can find the genuine value of our coming together to look back—not, I hope, in anger.

Remarks on *The People of Puerto Rico*

Eric R. Wolf

Twenty-nine years have passed since the research embodied in *The People of Puerto Rico* was undertaken, and twenty-one years since the book reporting that research appeared in print.[1] Turning its pages now is like a visit to old friends, once intimately known and understood, with whom one was engaged on many different levels—psychological, occupational, political. Among these friends revisited is also one's former self, in my case the person I was then, 25 years old. One is always uneasy, fingering the mementos of one's past. One fights down not so much the seven deadly sins as the petty ones, notably misplaced nostalgia and false pride. But, in all, looking at that book again, I was happily surprised. It is, I think, a very good book, as books go, though better in some parts than in others. It is also a book we came by honestly. By this I mean that we worked at it. It has its shortcomings and myopias (I shall say something about these shortly); but it was begotten in many hours of observation and interviews, and many hours of trying to unravel and understand what we heard and saw, over the course of a year and a half. It was also enjoyable work. We learned a lot, about the people of Puerto Rico and about ourselves.

It is also a book that one must try to place in time, in the times when it was written. This is not said as an alibi, but as an aid to understanding. Anthropology was then undergoing a major change. For some of us, going to school after the war on public funds, anthropology offered a prospect of studying a "real" world of "real people." One had some hope then that knowledge could be linked to action, and that better knowledge would yield better action. Julian Steward who had then begun to teach at Columbia University seemed to us to offer the kind of matter-of-fact materialism

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[1] Julian H. Steward, *The People of Puerto Rico* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956).

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which, we hoped, would allow us to study real people and to build that better knowledge. Having said all this, let me turn to the book, to the research on which it is based, and especially to the theory and method that informed that research.

The first research strategy which Steward brought to bear upon the study of Puerto Rico was that of cultural ecology. In Steward's mind, cultural ecology was a method, a way of answering a question. The question was: "whether the adjustments of human societies to their environments require particular modes of behavior or whether they permit latitude for a certain range of possible behavior patterns."[2] The method was to study empirically the relationships between a culturally available technology and an environment:

> First, the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment must be analyzed. . . . Second the behavior patterns involved in the exploitation of a particular area by means of a particular technology must be analyzed. . . . The third procedure is to ascertain the extent to which the behavior patterns entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of culture.[3]

Such a procedure would lead to the formulation of a *culture core*, a

> constellation of features which are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements. The core includes such social, political, and religious patterns as are empirically determined to be closely connected with these arrangements . . .

This is what cultural ecology pays primary attention to: "those features which empirical analysis shows to be most closely involved in the utilization of environment in culturally prescribed ways." These core features Steward contrasted with the peripheral or "secondary" features—acquired by a culture either through random variation or diffusion. These give "the appearance of outward distinctiveness to cultures with similar cores."[4] Involved in this is, as Geertz has quite rightly noted, a "disaggregation of global variables" into cultural core and secondary features."[5]

In a little-known paper, Robert Murphy has noted quite correctly that what Steward was really interested in was less the relation of environment to culture than "the realm of social action involved in material production, i.e. work."[6] In Marxist language we would dub this the labor process, the ways in which men employ tools in carrying out the work of transforming nature.

[2] Julian H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), p. 36.

[3] Ibid., pp. 40–41.

[4] Ibid., p. 37.

[5] Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution* (University of California Press 1968), p. 8.

[6] Robert F. Murphy, "Basin Ethnography and Ethnological Theory," in E. H. Swanson, Jr., *Languages and Cultures of Western North America* (Pocatello: Idaho State University Press, 1970), pp. 152–71.

Murphy says further:

> The environment *per se* is not the critical factor, for the "behavior patterns" required in its exploitation using certain "economic devices" are the key elements. The behavior patterns are work, and the "economic devices" technology. Quite simply, the theory of cultural ecology is concerned with the process of work, its organization, its cycles and rhythms and its situational modalities. . . . Patterns of work are directly derivative from the tools and resources to which they are applied, and these two factors serve to limit the human activities to which they are related. . . . And it is from the analysis of activity, rather than of institutions and values, that the theory is derived."[7]

This interest in the social action involved in material production also prompted the basic research strategy in Puerto Rico. Let me quote Steward's own formulation of the rationale which led to the selection of the loci, the sites, of study:

> As Puerto Rico is overwhelmingly agrarian and rural, our chief task was to study the way of life of its farm population. We wished the studies to be representative of as large a portion of the Island's 2,200,000 people as possible. . . . The farm communities were chosen on the basis of certain theoretical assumptions. Principally it was assumed that, while the broad patterns of Puerto Rican life were determined by the Hispanic heritage and by the colonial position and subtropical nature of the Island, regional cultural differences resulted from adaptations of the productive complexes, that is, land use, to different local environments. . . . The very great local differences could be explained only by cultural-ecological processes—the processes by which production, social patterns, and related modes of life are selectively borrowed from outside sources and adapted to local needs in each natural region. More concretely, it was suspected that, despite the Island's common cultural background and extra-insular contacts, the way of life in the coffee area, the tobacco and mixed crop area, and in the several sugar areas would differ profoundly.[8]

Thus, the members of the project went to work in rural communities, each selected to be representative of the major variant, productive complexes adapted to different local environments.

These differential relations of productive complexes adapted to different environments, in turn, produced distinctive subcultures: "In each region," Steward would write,

> the productive arrangement—the kind of crop, mechanization in field production or in processing, land tenure, capitalization and credit, and the nature of labor and of owner-worker relations—has created distinctive subcultures among the people involved.[9]

Hence, each community study would illuminate also a particular complex of subcultures. It may be well to discuss briefly Steward's use of the concept of subculture. In his paper on "Levels" he speaks of subcultural groups or "sub-societies"[10] as segments of the larger sociocultural whole. They may be

[7] Ibid., pp. 155–6.

[8] Julian H. Steward, *Area Research: Theory and Practice*, Bulletin 63 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950), p. 134.

[9] Steward, *Theory of Culture Change*, p. 212.

[10] Ibid., p. 46.

localized groups "which may result from differentiation that has occurred during national development—for example, subcultures arising from local specialization in production or cultural ecological adaptations."[11] Or they may be ethnic minorities. In the case of Puerto Rico, research strategy focused principally on the first, dealing with ethnic minorities (*gallegos*, *mallorquines*, etc.) largely in the context of the first. The second type of subculture Steward saw as "horizontal" groups, such as castes, classes, occupational divisions, and other segments which hold status positions in an hierarchical arrangement and usually crosscut localities to some extent. However this "hierarchy functions principally in the locality."

These "may be considered vertical cleavages within the larger society."[12] It does not always follow that segments having the same relative status in different localities will be equivalent if the local or regional subcultures are unlike."[13] How do such local horizontal segments "crosscut localities to some extent"? Some extend more than others. The upper class has extensions by means of its wealth and dominant social status. The laborers have great horizontal mobility, in part related to their seasonal migration. The small farm owners have the fewest interregional ties. The professionals interact widely through professional activities.[14] The picture which emerges is therefore somewhat like a grid with vertical divisions anchored in regional ecology, and the horizontal lines of division following principally from the movement of economic factors: labor for laborers; services for professionals; wealth for upper class people; land for small farmers. The presence or absence of factors of production, or their strength and weakness, were also used to explain the rise and fall of particular local or vertical sociocultural segments and productive arrangements.

The second set of concepts which Steward introduced into the work on Puerto Rico had to do with what he called "levels of sociocultural integration." On the face of it this is an extremely simple concept, and at the same time a concept which—in all of its simplicity—recommended itself then because it allowed recognition of a certain measure of complexity in society. This sounds paradoxical, and is paradoxical, but the paradox must be understood in terms of the major orientations prevalent in anthropology at the time. These were orientations which Steward was arguing against. Among these were the assumptions of the approach which saw any given culture as an expressive totality, a totality either permeated by a master pattern (a position put forward most elegantly by Ruth Benedict), or by a common striving for stylistic unification (a position associated with the name of Alfred Kroeber), or by a common group or national character (a position advocated most intensly by Margaret Mead). A corollary assumption was that when a

[11] Ibid., p. 47.
[12] Ibid., p. 66.
[13] Ibid., p. 67.
[14] Steward, *Area Research*, p. 142.

culture came into contact with another, it responded to that contact in homogeneous ways, as a totality. The studies of culture contact at the time, subsumed under the title of acculturation, assumed that cultures changed as wholes. I believe that Steward first formulated his version of the concept of levels of sociocultural integration as a reaction to acculturation studies. He argued that acculturation processes worked differently in different societies, according to whether they intruded primarily on the level of the family, on the level of the community, or on the level of what he called (sometimes quite unanalytically and interchangeably) the level of the state or nation. Thus he interpreted the response of the Inca to Spanish conquest not as a homogeneous acculturative response of a total society, but as a set of differential responses, operating differently on the level of the state, of the community, and of the family. The integration of Inca culture at the level of the state suffered the most, its integration at the level of the community less so, and at the level of the family the least. The family retained most features of Andean culture and society, the community some, the state level none at all. He concluded from this that sociocultural wholes should not be treated homogeneously, but analyzed differently at different levels of integration.

The concept of levels of integration is not new in intellectual history, nor is it Steward's independent invention. He himself refers to Alex Novikoff, a biologist, who in turn took his departure from Joseph Needham. Needham, in 1936, had written an essay on "Integrative Levels" which rephrased in Marxian terms what had until then been an idealist or vitalist concept, associated with such names as Henri Bergson, Hans Driesch, and A. Whitehead. From these predecessors Steward took over the notion of a succession of organizational types which are a. ever more complex, and b. represent new emergent forms.[15] The older organizational types do not disappear when a new organizational type is reached, nor do they survive in fossil form. "They gradually become modified as specialized, dependent parts of new kinds of total configurations."[16] He saw this new concept as "simply a methodological tool for dealing with cultures of different degrees of complexity."[17] I am struck, however, that with the adoption of this methodological tool Steward opted for a research strategy which had serious limitations for further work and interpretation. The concept moved him essentially in a sociological direction in emphasizing a formalistic hierarchy of social groups—family, multi-kin community, and state, without any theoretical re-working of what kinship and stateship are *about* in different settings. Again, with his penchant for noting social action in production, he could note what was done at each level, what behavior went on in the family, in the community, and at the level of the state and its institutions, but say little about how relations of production impinged on each and every level, rearranging family, community and nation in convergent ways.

[15] Ibid., pp. 106–14; Steward, *Theory of Culture Change*, p. 51.
[16] Steward, *Theory of Culture Change*, p. 51.
[17] Ibid., p. 52.

If we look more closely, however, we shall see that what Steward introduced once more into the study of complex societies is a new version of Morgan's polarity of *civitas* and *societas*, with *societas* operating at the lower levels of sociocultural integration, and *civitas* taking over with the emergence of the state. We must remember that when Marx and Engels took over Morgan's *Ancient Society* and made it their own, they did so in order "to sharpen its theoretical implications, particularly with regard to the emergence of classes and the state."[18] The resurrection of this Morganian polarity in the guise of Steward's concept does not "sharpen its theoretical implications with regard to the emergence of classes and the state." It simply resurrects the sociological problematic of the face-to-face group on the level of kinship and locality, and the problematic of the "institution" on the level of the state. Both of these problem complexes take the empirical form of social relations at face value, but leave them unanalyzed. Kinship alignments were, for Steward as for Morgan, primarily outcomes of the labor process, not elements and relations of production. Similarly, the institutions of the state were seen by Steward primarily as task-oriented bodies, "the government and legal systems, political parties, labor unions, educational systems, export and import trade, money, banking, and credit organizations, churches and official church doctrines, the military, certain organized sports, and others."[19] This is of course merely a catalogue of socially sanctioned apparatuses, not an attempt to unravel analytically the forces which underlie them and dictate their functions.

Using a different vocabulary, I would say that what Steward was primarily interested in was the social relations of work, to the considerable neglect of what Marxists call the social relations of production. What do we mean by the social relations of production? They are not identical with "social action involved in material production." The term "social relations of production" designates the nexus, the link, the articulation between two terms: on the one hand the deployment of social labor—men in "definite connections and relations with one another" (Marx); on the other, the social allocation of the means of production—the resources of nature and the instruments available for their transformation for human use. The relation, the nexus, between these two terms sets up the field of force within which men then carry on material production by

1. deploying social labor in a given division of labor;
2. setting the limits for the exploitation of a given environment on the basis of this division of labor combined with the available means of production;
3. determining the ratio between necessary and surplus labor, a ratio not determined by the energy costs of reproducing the individual laborer, but by the conditions of reproducing the social "ensemble";
4. the allocation and appropriation of surplus labor (or of the products embody-

[18] Eleanor B. Leacock, "Introduction" to Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (New York: International Publishers, 1972), pp. 7.

[19] Steward, *Theory of Culture Change*, pp. 67–8.

ing this labor) along the lines of division established in the deployment of social labor;
5. determining the economic rationality governing the material process of production;
6. setting the terms of constraint (political and ideological) required to maintain the nexus between social labor and the social allocation of the means of production.

In *The People of Puerto Rico*, these central relations are treated only empirically, as they impinge on time and in space upon the island. They are not conceptualized theoretically. This, then, it seems to me, is the first shortcoming of our work.

The second shortcoming, it seems to me, flows from Steward's use of the concept of levels of sociocultural integration. His two levels of the family and of the community represent levels of social relations, more or less enduring bundles of social relationships. The third level, "nation or state," is not a bundle of social relationships, but only the apex of a set of working arrangements called institutions. Family, community, and state are defined as different loci of relationships, without any specification of what the relationships are or are about. For instance, there is no analysis of the structure and function of the state, and no question or query about the nature and characteristics of the "national" institutions. These are taken at face value, and not analyzed—for instance—with regard to the way in which they both serve and hide the forces which underlie and organize them.[20] The characteristic division of institutions into legal-political and social-economic ones is simply registered, but not explored. Upon this unanalyzed pyramid of formal levels *The People of Puerto Rico* then superimposes the grid of vertical and horizontal classes, derived from the study of what people do in work. The two are then tied together through noting that the inter-local horizontal classes, especially the professionals and the rich interact at the level of national institutions—in their capacities as actors in the labor process, but without reference to the social relations that constitute the system *qua* system. We get a picture of the technical division of labor, not of the social division of labor, not of the social integration of that labor.

The third shortcoming of the book, it seems to me, is constituted by one of its very strengths. *The People of Puerto Rico* explores history in novel and often exciting ways; but, as when Maurice Godelier says that "history is not a category that explains; it is a category that must be explained." St[illegible]ing in retrospect is the absence from the book of any formulation of what [illegible] have since then come to call dependency theory. This was in part due to the fact that dependency theory was then in its infancy, and had penetrated anthropology hardly at all. Now dependency theory is itself merely a latter-day academic version of older non-academic concerns. These earlier non-academic concerns appear in Marxist literature as the concern with im-

[20] Nicos Poulantzas, *Political Power and Social Classes* (1968; London: New Left Books, 1973), pp. 115, 124.

perialism. The names one associates with this concern are Lenin, of course, but also Rosa Luxemburg, Nikolai Bukharin, and Leon Trotsky. The genealogy of relevant ideas between 1930 and 1950 escapes me; but there is no doubt that they emerge strongly once more at mid-century, in the writings of Gunnar Myrdal, such Latin American development economists as Raul Prebisch, and, most clearly perhaps, in the work of Paul Baran. None of this reached anthropology until the 60s. It should be remembered that André Gunder Frank did not publish his "Development of Underdevelopment"[21] until 1966. A somewhat parallel concern, that with "internal colonialism," also originates with Lenin who first employed the concept in his *Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899).[22] It emerges again in Antonio Gramsci's "The Southern Question" (1927).[23] In 1960, C. Wright Mills spoke of the idea in a discussion of industrial development. (1963; 154). Four years later it was taken up in more intensive form by Pablo González Casanova[24] and Rodolfo Stavenhagen.[25] The resultant concepts—enclave/hinterland; metropolis/satellite; core/periphery; dominant power/internal colony; asymmetrical relations between classes/asymmetrical relations between regions—are familiar enough. They are useful: they point to differentials in wealth, organization, power, productive base, and class differentiation between one pole and the other. They thus draw attention to this differential and set the investigator to look for its explanation. They are, however, merely descriptive, and they conjure up a static relation between but two hypostatized elements.

It is clear that what we are dealing with, in trying to represent the relation of Puerto Rico to the United States, is a very large, world-wide system. This system consists of multiple and heterogeneous segments: multiple and heterogeneous units of production, branches of production, productive regions. Under the dominance of capitalist relations of production, capital flows towards these segments, withdraws from them, or avoids them altogether, depending on the ability of capital to obtain above-average profits. Yet let us remember also that capital is but a historically particular means of attaching and allocating surplus labor. Under the dominance of capital, products embodying this labor flow from one segment to another. The various segments are thus connected by flows or transfers of surplus labor. Capital may also prompt labor to move bodily from one segment to another, supplementing the flow of products which transfer labor with direct transfers of labor power. This differentiated and differential flow of capital and surplus labor

[21] André Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," *Monthly Review*, Sept., 1966, pp. 17–31.

[22] Nikolai Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899; various editions).

[23] Antonio Gransci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings* (1927; New York: International Publishers, 1957), pp. 28–51.

[24] Pablo González Casanova, "Internal Colonialism and National Development," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1965), pp. 27–37.

[25] Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Classes, Colonialism, and Acculturation," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (1965).

between segments sets up a highly differentiated system of many cores and many peripheries, with many changes and shifts of position. The flow of capital to Brazil and the flow of capital away from Britain may serve as simple present-day illustrations.

From this point of view the four regions which we studied through our inquiries in four "representative" communities represent but particular combinations of capital and labor at a particular moment in time. To explain their relative position with regard to each other, or their relative position with regard to other regions requires a view vastly more dynamic than those offered either by cultural ecology or by the concept of levels of sociocultural integration. These attempted to impose but a static frame of reference upon a dynamic, moving situation. Hence predictions based upon this frame of reference proved quite inadequate, on re-reading even somewhat ludicrous. For instance, we noted the beginnings of Puerto Rican migration to the mainland—surely the central fact of Puerto Rican life in the second part of the 20th century, but we had no theoretical means for understanding it. Similarly, we had no way (could we have foreseen it?) to place this flow of labor from the island into the Northeast of the U.S. in relation to the changing relation of segments within the boundaries of the mainland States. New York, like Puerto Rico, has now been left behind by capital and labor, in favor of the sun-lit industry, military installations, and raw material base of the South, since the War between the States one of capital's favored internal colonies.

Perhaps none of this could have been said twenty-one years ago. These remarks are predicated on the renewal of political economy and the breaking down of conceptual and methodological boundaries among the various social sciences. Yet, here too, *The People of Puerto Rico* represents a kind of landmark. Re-reading the book, I was amazed how close we often came to opening paths towards this new ground, and chagrined as well that we did not go further at the time. Perhaps some have done so since then. Yet what saddens me especially is that Julian Steward who fathered that research never transcended its limits. His subsequent "Perspectives on Modernization," summarizing further cross-cultural research in Asia, Africa, and Latin America extended the approach pioneered in Puerto Rico without any further gain in conceptual depth. Perhaps it was only involvement in the turmoil of the 60s which raised new questions and new possible answers; and perhaps we shall have to wait until the 80s to bring in both the theoretical and the methodological harvest.

Historical Materialism and *The People of Puerto Rico*

William Roseberry

This brief review[1] attempts to analyze *The People of Puerto Rico*[2] in the context of the recent convergence of marxism and anthropology. Throughout this essay *The People of Puerto Rico* is treated not as the work of Steward but as a collection of studies written by scholars (for the most part, Steward's students) working at times individually and at times collectively. A critique of Steward's methodology, as expressed in his "Introduction,"[3] would not constitute a critique of the entire volume unless it could be shown that the participants in the project were guided by that methodology. This is very much an open question, and to examine it I will treat each chapter as a separate essay.

The People of Puerto Rico must first be dated and placed; it must be understood in terms of the times in which it was written. The immediate post World War II period was one of ferment in Anglo-American anthropology, as scholars were investigating complex societies and discovering that traditional concepts and methods no longer served them. How was the anthropologist studying discrete (or discernable) local regions or "communities" to analyze those communities as integral parts of complex social and economic systems? Traditional anthropological methods had treated units studied as integrated wholes; yet those regions into which anthropolog-

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[1] I began to think about some of the ideas expressed in this article in 1974, as I initiated a research project in Venezuela. Because *The People of Puerto Rico* was one of my methodological guides, I attempted to separate out the various approaches used by participants in the Puerto Rico project and to evaluate their successes and failures. During this early period, Sidney Mintz and Eric Wolf were kind enough to share some of their recollections and perspectives with me. Nevertheless, the opinions and interpretations expressed are my own.

[2] Julian H. Steward et al., *The People of Puerto Rico* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956).

[3] Ibid., pp. 1–27.

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ical attention was increasingly directed could not be analyzed in such terms. Although the participants in the Puerto Rico project were not the first to raise this problem, their volume must be seen as a pioneering attempt to resolve it in the context of concrete empirical studies. Much of what they accomplished is still unsurpassed.

The problem raised in *The People of Puerto Rico* continues to be important in anthropology, even if it is often overlooked. It is commonly raised by marxist anthropologists who talk not of "communities" within "complex societies" but of non-capitalist and capitalist "modes of production" and the "articulating" relationships between them. One of the exciting aspects of the rise of historical materialist perspectives in anthropology is that they show promise of resolving this most important conceptual and methodological impasse. Avoiding as much of the jargon as possible, I will mention two facets of such an approach which allow us to move beyond past studies.

1. The first is the doctrine of historical specificity—the idea that social "laws" can only be valid in the context of particular historical periods, that they are specific to them. Of course such an assumption is not limited to marxism and is shared by various theoretical schools. Nor is an historical explanation in itself sufficient.

2. What makes marxism unique is its second aspect: the emphasis on social production. Marxists assume that production is the basic activity in human societies. This does not mean that production determines all else; rather it is the necessary basis for all social life. Of primary importance here is the concept that Marx used to analyze the social relations people enter into in the production process: the mode of production. It is in this concept that the two essential elements of the marxist approach—historical specificity and social production—are joined. "Mode of production," while an abstract concept, must always be understood in the context of history. It is an essential conceptual tool in historical analysis, a means for abstracting the class structure of a given society.

At first glance, the attempt by the authors of *The People of Puerto Rico* to combine Steward's "cultural ecology" with a method they called "cultural history" looks very much like the marxist approach outlined above. Further analysis will show that they differ in fundamental respects.

Both Steward's cultural ecology and Marx's political economy recognize the importance of production in social scientific analysis. In a seminal essay, Cook has seen the emphasis on production as a common point of reference for cultural ecology and political economy:

> On the one hand, production integrates the ecological and economic fields through its intimate relationship with technology: it is the direct processual link between the economic field and the natural environment. On the other hand, production, through its intimate linkage with work organization and ideology, is a principal nexus of articulation between the ecological/economic field and the socio-cultural system. And, of course, men's relationship to the productive process—via control over its scarce material means or actual participation as

> producers—determines their relationship to each other in society, as well as their relative share in the total product of their society.[4]

Production is at once a physical and social activity. While both Steward and Marx base their concepts in production, they emphasize different aspects of this dual activity. The concepts they derive from their respective emphases are therefore different.

Steward's statement of the cultural ecological method, which isolates a process of "adaptation," emphasizes the physical or technical aspect of production. Indeed, there is a tendency in Steward's statement of the method to identify "technology" with "productive processes."[5] While Steward clearly recognizes the social (or "cultural") component of production, it is nevertheless apparent that the primary "adaptive" or dynamic force operates between the environment and productive activity. These physical adaptations may then have ramifications in the social structure:

> When a particular exploitative technology such as farming is introduced to a new region, the . . . environmental factors will usually require modifications in methods of production and in the related patterns. . . . These latter may in turn have a profound effect upon the structure and function of the entire society.[6]

We are therefore using a concept to examine social process (or to use Steward's terminology, "culture change") which is one step removed from social organization. It properly emphasizes the basic human activity of production, but it makes of that activity a technical rather than a social process.

One negative consequence of this approach is that it is extremely difficult to carry the analysis beyond a local unit. We have *an* environment and *a* particular form of technology, and the analysis focuses on the relationship between the two in a production process. The social aspect of the analysis concentrates on the persons who actually use the technology in production. In complex societies, to get from a local adaptation to the incorporating social, political and economic system, we must resort to other concepts. As we know, Steward's resolution of this problem required the concept of "levels of sociocultural integration" (or organization), which, because of its formalistic structure, is unable to deal with the systemic relationships which connect the postulated levels.

While Marx's mode of production concept is meant to include both aspects of production which Cook mentions, there is little doubt that his emphasis is on the second, or social, aspect. In his "Introduction" in the *Grundrisse*, while jotting down some notes to himself, Marx comments:

[4] Scott Cook, "Production, Ecology and Economic Anthropology: Notes Toward an Integrated Frame of Reference," *Social Science Information*, Vol. 12., No. 1 (1973), pp. 25–52; "Economic Anthropology: Problems in Theory, Method, and Analysis," in John J. Honigman (ed.), *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974), pp. 795–860.

[5] Steward, "Introduction," op. cit., p. 15.

[6] Loc. cit.

> . . . political economy is not technology . . . production also is not only a particular production. Rather it is always a certain social body, a social subject, which is active in a greater or sparser totality of branches of production.[7]

In the clearest statement of his method, the "Preface" to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, while Marx notes that social relations of production are "appropriate to" or "correspond to" the development of material forces of production, it is the social relations of production which carry the weight of his analysis. They "[constitute] the economic structure of society, the real foundation."[8] Elsewhere they "[reveal] the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure."[9] Thus the concept has an immediate advantage over Steward's adaptation concept in that, while linked to the basic activity of production, the mode of production encompasses social relationships.

The superiority of this approach is clear in its resolution of the methodological problem outlined above. It should be clear that one of the primary means by which local areas "articulate" with the international system is through the production process. Its basis is the fact that a surplus product is being appropriated by representatives of the larger economic system. That surplus product normally takes the form of *commodities*, which, while they are things, embody precise social relationships. The points of articulation will be social as well and will be manifest in a class or classes of people who may serve as "brokers" between local producers and export merchants. The value of the mode of production concept when applied to local areas is that it does *not* provide a model of the local economy. In fact, geographic specificity is unimportant; what is important is the analysis of the social relations which characterize the total process of production. In using the concept to produce an abstract model, then, the investigator will be forced to include non-local elements as part of the *internal* structure of the mode of production. If we begin our analysis of the local region at the level of the mode of production rather than the local economy, we have already specified a series of linkages with national and international institutions. The "articulation" problem will be partially resolved because the question of what is internal and what is external will not be asked from the perspective of a regional economy or community but from the perspective of a total process of production.

Given this general critique of Steward's "cultural ecology," we must now determine the extent to which the actual participants in the project were guided by Steward's methods. Even a cursory examination of the text demonstrates that it contains two introductions. The first, written by Steward, sets out the research problem(s), addresses anthropological issues of interest in the late 1940s, and outlines the method of cultural ecology. The second, called "The Cultural Historical Approach," written by "the staff,"

[7] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse* (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1973), p. 86.

[8] Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (New York: International, 1970), p. 20.

[9] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3 (New York: International, 1967), p. 791.

precedes a remarkable economic history of Puerto Rico based on Raymond Scheele's preliminary research. As we examine these two introductions, we see that they outline quite different—and ultimately contradictory—methodologies. The two methods share a recognition of the "community" as a discrete social unit and of the importance of factors both endogenous and exogenous to that community in social change. They differ in where they look for ultimately causal relationships: to the community and its sociocultural "adaptations" or to external "pressures."

In outlining his approach, Steward refers obliquely to "culture history" and dismisses it, concluding that "the distinctive features both of the total insular culture and of the regional community subcultures must be explained by cultural ecological processes as well as by cultural history."[10] Yet Steward does not stop here. He then compares Puerto Rico and the American Southwest and concludes (without sufficient justification) that

> Contemporary Puerto Rico exhibits an internal diversity of regional subcultural types which are no less explainable by cultural ecological processes than the differences between Puerto Rico and the Southwest.[11]

Moreover,

> In each of the different regions, environment not only determined the type of land use which was selected from those available in the Spanish and American cultures, but local factors strongly conditioned the subcultures which grew up.[12]

In a brief statement of the "cultural historical" approach, however, the other authors make it clear they share neither Steward's approach nor his conclusions. While they briefly mention the importance of "environment" and the "past culture," it is obvious that they are looking elsewhere for their explanations of change:

> During subsequent centuries wholly new subcultural configurations emerged in response to international historical developments and the resultant changes in institutional forms. Modifications in world markets, trade regulations, labor supply, technology, credit, and legislation reacted upon every subculture in the island. . . . The lifeways of these three rural types were so deeply affected both in a developmental and functional sense by the colony and empire of which they were parts that they cannot be properly understood without reference to the larger context.[13]

There follows an economic and political history of Puerto Rico, divided into stages marked by changing relationships within global networks. In a brief conclusion to this impressive analysis, they return to their major theme: the local sub-cultures are seen as "direct consequences of these external pressures as adapted to the special regional-environmental differences found

[10] Steward, "Introduction," op. cit., p. 15.
[11] Ibid., p. 16.
[12] Loc. cit.
[13] Steward et al., p. 32.

on the island."[14] While the investigators mention the importance of "the environment" and Steward mentions the importance of "history," the two statements of method are incompatible. The disagreements are stated in polite academic language. But any social scientist who has disagreed with a teacher or a colleague in the course of a seminar or a joint project should recognize what was really being said.

This disagreement may be due in part to a certain confusion about what "cultural history" refers to. Throughout his argument, Steward dismisses historical approaches as particularistic, associated with an emphasis on diffusion.[15] His cultural ecological approach represents an attempt to generalize, to formulate typologies, to search for regularities. Given the development of anthropological theory during this period, Steward's perception of historical approaches is accurate if narrow.[16] But his students make it clear that their cultural history is neither diffusionist[17] nor particularistic. In fact the entire last chapter is an attempt to formulate "hypotheses of cross-cultural regularities."[18] At issue are the methods for generalizing and the typological regularities that will be sought. Steward was interested in outlining cultural (or subcultural) types on the basis of form-function.[19] This led him to analyze particular *adaptations* which might have cross-cultural significance. While his students used some of the same terminology, they attempted to analyze their particular communities in terms of a more general historical process. Rather than contributing to specific histories, that general process linked their communities within a single whole.

Unfortunately, the authors do not provide a clear statement of their cultural historical method until the volume's conclusion. They outline three steps: 1. the placement of the subcultures studied in a larger historical context; 2. the isolation of "principal factors causing change"; and 3. the analysis of the effects of these changes in Puerto Rico and in the particular subcultures.[20] The third step in their methodology produced lists of subcultural and developmental characteristics which are not of lasting interest. The second step produced another statement of the importance of "external influences." In the first step, in their attempt to place Puerto Rico in a larger perspective, they note:

> During four and a half centuries of colonialism many world areas have come under European political and economic domination. Despite differences in

[14] Ibid., p. 89.

[15] Steward, "Introduction," op. cit., p. 15; *Theory of Culture Change: the Methodology of Multilinear Evolution* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1955), pp. 35, 78–97, 208–209.

[16] Leslie White, "History, Evolutionism, and Functionalism: Three Types of Interpretation of Culture," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 1 (19), pp. 221–48.

[17] Steward et al., op. cit., pp. 505–6.

[18] Ibid., p. 503.

[19] Steward, *Theory of Culture Change*, op. cit., pp. 78–97.

[20] Steward et al., op. cit., p. 505.

> imperial techniques and in local cultural traditions, many peoples who formerly had subsistence economies have been drawn into a larger system of commerce and have begun to produce cash commodities. In each instance, the social and ceremonial life based on the aboriginal subsistence patterns was destroyed, economic activity became individualized, native handicrafts were lost, manufactured goods were purchased, money became a measure of value, and the basic population tended to become proletarianized and hence to assume a lower-class position in the national or imperial society. Despite differences in the total acculturation of the societies involved in the process of expanding empires, the aforementioned similarities are very real and very significant. Where heavy capital investment in production machinery, processing equipment, and other means of exploiting resources has occurred, portions of the local population have formed a wage-earning proletariat, even though many features of their earlier cultures survive.[21]

In my opinion, it is this attempt to place Puerto Rico and its various "subcultures" in the context of the "fundamental similarities in the processes of proletarianization as these have developed throughout the world"[22] that makes *The People of Puerto Rico* so important.

Given this perspective, the various community studies make more sense. Not only are they studies of communities producing different commodities (with the exception of Nocorá and Cañamelar); they are also—and more fundamentally—studies of different processes and different degrees of proletarianization. Most of the studies begin with brief economic histories of the communities and/or the commodities they produce. The histories, which attempt to place each community within the island's history as presented in Section II, are basic to the community studies themselves. Tracing changing relationships of labor to land, they serve as the basis for outlines of class relationships and discussions of class-based subcultures.

Some of the language used, not common in anthropological discourse of the 1950s, sounds quite marxist. Mintz in particular works through two conceptual headings in writing a history of sugar in Puerto Rico: "labor power and the plantation system" and "land and technology."[23] The latter is basically an analysis of increasing capital intensity in sugar production—or, as Mintz expresses it, "the invasion of capital."[24] In talking of a rural proletariat, he sees it as made up of people who "stand in a uniform relation to the means of production and in a like relation, economically and socially, to one another."[25] But Mintz is not alone. Wolf talks of agricultural workers as those who sell "labor power" and analyzes migration out of San José as the export of the commodity labor power, to which he assigns a monetary

[21] Loc. cit.

[22] Loc. cit.

[23] Sidney Mintz, "Cañamelar: The Subculture of a Rural Sugar Plantation Proletariat," in Julian Steward et al., *The People of Puerto Rico* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 314–417.

[24] Ibid., p. 338.

[25] Ibid., p. 351.

value.[26] Manners, in turn, presents a statement of causation quite like those used by mechanical marxists, employing such terms as substructure and superstructure.[27]

It would be reasonable to suggest, then, that some of the authors were influenced by marxian perspectives, although they did not explicitly acknowledge such influence. In addition, the cultural historical method and the studies it produced are in many respects compatible with a marxist approach. Nevertheless, *The People of Puerto Rico* is not a marxist book, and it would be a mistake to claim that it was. This is not simply due to a failure to cite Marx (perhaps attributable in part to the period in which it was published). The method itself—or more specifically the curious combination of methods—was non-marxist as well.

The study of "the fundamental similarities in the processes of proletarianization as these have developed throughout the world" cannot be realized outside of a study of capitalist development. The authors recognized that their communities had not simply been affected by external forces but existed within a capitalist system. Manners talks of the decline of home industries in terms of the "rise of capitalism."[28] Wolf notes that San José peasants are "members of a capitalist society."[29] And, in the clearest case of capitalist penetration, Mintz analyzes the formation of a proletariat as a U.S. corporation invests in sugar production. Yet nowhere, either in the general sections or in the community studies themselves, does capitalism enter into the analysis as independent or dependent variable other than by euphemistic reference to "external influences". Significantly, the woefully inadequate index contains no reference to capitalism, though each author mentions it; nor proletarianization, though it was a basic concept in Mintz's study and central to the volume's conclusion; nor "dependency," though Manners outlined certain aspects of Puerto Rican and Tabaran history in terms of this concept. One may, however, find references to "dogfights," "earaches: treatment," etc.

If the comparative analysis of proletarianization constitutes the volume's strength, the paradoxical failure to analyze capitalism constitutes its most important weakness. Rather than examining systemic relations which tied the communities within a larger whole, the investigators treated community, region, dependency, etc., as separate levels of integration. If they did not agree with Steward on the importance of internal factors in change, they bought the internal/external statement of the problem. Hedges aside, they reified the "community." This was perhaps the most important legacy of

[26] Eric Wolf, "San José: Subcultures of a 'Traditional' Coffee Municipality," in Julian Steward et al., *The People of Puerto Rico* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p. 198.

[27] Robert Manners, "Tabara: Subcultures of a Tobacco and Mixed Crops Municipality," in Julian Steward et al., *The People of Puerto Rico* (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 93–4.

[28] Ibid., pp. 137–8.

[29] Wolf, op. cit., pp. 224, passim.

Steward's cultural ecology in *The People of Puerto Rico*. For all practical purposes the analysis of production ended at the boundaries of the community. The cultural historical approach was not joined with an analysis of productive relationships.

The implications of this methodological imprecision are most clear in some of the class analyses. The investigators are to be congratulated for recognizing the importance of class divisions and making them central to their analyses. Yet with the exception of Mintz's pioneering (at least in the anthropological literature) treatment of proletarians, the various class analyses are weak. Although classes are divided according to their relationship to the productive system, the system itself is so narrowly conceived that classes are seen as local groups. Manners, for example, divides rural and urban classes according to occupation.[30] Some of the occupational groups (e.g. large merchants, government employees) must have ties with extra-community economic and political forces, but those ties are not examined in the context of class analysis. Moreover, in his analysis of a coffee producing area, Wolf notes that credit tied the "rural community" to "the town."[31] While Wolf's outline of classes is stated in surprisingly marxist terms,[32] however, he does not analyze them systemically. He separates the rural "culture" from the town "culture," outlines a separate class structure for each, and analyzes each class's cultural characteristics.[33] In addition, while his historical analysis showed that *force* not only tied town to country but tied San José to insular powers,[34] these linkages were not considered in the analysis of class structure.

The reason for this failure should be apparent. Manners states:

> It has been the argument of this paper that the rural society of Tabara is class-structured; that this structure primarily is a consequence . . .—in this predominantly agricultural society—of the individual's relationship to the major instrument of wealth production, the land.[35]

For his part, Wolf maintains:

> Life and expectations of the people in Manicaboa are tied closely to the land and its products. Land is the basic means of production in an agricultural society.[36]

Thus the local class analysis is based on relationships of labor to land. But were Tabara, San José, Cañamelar, and Nocorá "rural" or "agricultural" societies? (For that matter, were they societies?) And was land the basic means of production? If we take seriously Wolf's claim that peasants were members of a capitalist society, we see that the society was neither rural nor

[30] Manners, op. cit., pp. 135–7.
[31] Wolf, op. cit., pp. 193, passim.
[32] Ibid., pp. 201–4.
[33] Ibid., pp. 198–261.
[34] Ibid., pp. 190–5.
[35] Ibid., p. 161.
[36] Wolf, op. cit., p. 201.

agricultural, but that agriculture was one aspect or one sector of a capitalist mode of production. Local classes could not be analyzed without reference to it. And with regard to e.g. coffee, there is some question as to whether land is the basic means of production if we consider the total (international) process of production, which includes agricultural production, processing, transport, storage, etc.

I maintained above that the value of the mode of production concept was that it did not provide a model of a local economy, that it allowed us to analyze discernable regions as parts of a wider network of social relations. Given the position of Puerto Rico in the midtwentieth century, we should analyze local "communities" as parts of a capitalist mode of production. Marx notes:

> In all forms of society there is one specific kind of production which predominates over the rest, whose relation thus assign rank and influence to the others. It is a general illumination which bathes all the other colours and modifies their particularity. . . . In bourgeois society . . . agriculture more and more becomes merely a branch of industry, and is entirely dominated by capital. . . . Capital is the all-dominating economic power of bourgeois society. It must form the starting-point as well as the finishing-point, and must be dealt with before landed property. After both have been examined in particular, their interrelation must be examined.[37]

Of course, capitalism in San José is different from capitalism in Tabara or Cañamelar or New York. As it has expanded to incorporate various social formations, or as the various technical and social requirements of commodities produced and circulated within the system have required particular relationships, or as the developmental process has been uneven or irregular, producing great wealth in one region or for one class and great poverty in another region or for another class, capitalist evolution has been multifaceted. One of the important roles of marxist anthropology is to increase our appreciation and understanding of capitalist society by analyzing its particular histories, its effects upon real people in real places. In this sense community studies, when placed in larger (i.e., global) contexts, will continue to be valuable anthropological endeavors. My basic point is a methodological one: we begin not with the community or with "peasants" but with capital and capitalism. Whether the local region exists within the capitalist mode of production or within a non-capitalist mode which "articulates" with the dominant mode, e.g., through circulation, we must treat capitalism as both an independent and dependent variable. Treating it as an independent variable, we must examine the manner in which capital penetrates non-capitalist forms, the changes it engenders, and the extent to which it necessitates the development of new forms. Treating it as dependent variable, we must examine the effects this interaction produces in the system as a whole.

Some of the participants in the Puerto Rico project saw their problem in

[37] Marx, *Grundrisse*, op. cit., pp. 106–7.

these terms, as their emphasis on proletarianization attests. My contention is that they did not carry their cultural historical approach to its logical conclusion. Although they saw that their communities existed within a capitalist society, they did not make the necessary methodological adjustments. They reified the communities and analyzed their "adaptations" to "pressures" both internal and external to them. *The People of Puerto Rico* is still an important book, in part because it was one of the first works in Anglo-American anthropology to address these problems. Yet its significance is not simply historical. Almost thirty years after the project's inception and over twenty years since its publication, there is no study of a capitalist social formation by a group of social scientists—marxist or non-marxist—which has been as successful as was *The People of Puerto Rico*. I have adopted a critical perspective because the questions they raised are still important and are still unresolved. From my point of view, the book can be used as a flawed guide for studies which should be undertaken today. This means that we must recognize its contributions and learn from its failures.

Treinta años de antropología en Puerto Rico

Rafael L. Ramírez

Análisis de las tendencias principales en la investigación and antropológica en Puerto Rico durante las décadas del cuarenta y del cincuenta y el impacto que tuvo la publicación del libro *The People of Puerto Rico*[1] tanto en investigaciones posteriores como en la conceptualización de nuestra sociedad y nuestra cultura; el desarrollo de la antropología a partir de Steward; el estado actual de la disciplina; las orientaciones teóricas que prevalecen y la ubicación de los antropólogos en la sociedad puertorriqueña.

El comienzo de la antropología en nuestro país y su posterior desarrollo es necesario entenderlo dentro del marco del desarrollo de las ciencias sociales a partir de la década del cuarenta y la importancia que se le asignó a las mismas en el proceso de transformación de la sociedad puertorriqueña dirigida por el Partido Popular Democrático. Hasta donde sabemos[2] el estudio de Steward y sus colegas fue resultado del interés y esfuerzos de los gobernantes y administradores de la década del cuarenta preocupados por entender diversos aspectos de la estructura social de la época para hacer cambios en el sistema económico, el sistema educativo y la administración pública. Los enfoques y hallazgos de las ciencias sociales modernas desarrolladas en el mundo académico norteamericano se aplicarían para la resolu-

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[1] Julian H. Steward, *The People of Puerto Rico* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956).

[2] No he podido localizar los documentos y correspondencia del Centro de Investigaciones Sociales relacionados con éste y otros estudios de la época. Agradezco la colaboración de la Dra. Beate Salz y de los profesores Eugenio Fernández Méndez y Charlie Rosario que me ofrecieron abundante información acerca del estado de la antropología en Puerto Rico durante los años cuarenta y cincuenta.

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ción de los problemas sociales y económicos prevalecientes y para dirigir el proceso de cambio social. Este propósito lo señala Steward en el prefacio de su libro cuando dice:

> In 1947 the University of Puerto Rico wished to have a study made of the social anthropology of the Puerto Rican people. This study was one of many research projects carried on by the University of Puerto Rico to further an understanding of the varied social, economic, geographical, and other social science aspects of Puerto Rican life. It was part of a larger effort, supported by the Puerto Rican government through the University of Puerto Rico under its able chancellor, Dr. Jaime Benítez, to bring the skills and techniques of modern social science to bear upon social and economic problems of Puerto Rico.[3]

Las ciencias sociales modernas en nuestro medio social comenzaron con propósitos utilitarios orientadas a adquirir el conocimiento de las estructuras sociales y sistemas valorativos que permitieran a los sectores gobernantes tomar decisiones políticas para dirigir el proceso de cambio social con el mínimo de conflicto. Al evaluar el producto de ese esfuerzo podemos concluir que aunque nuestra sociedad ha sido muy estudiada por dos generaciones de académicos y tecnócratas norteamericanos todavía no tenemos un conocimiento adecuado de nuestra realidad social como señalan varios de nuestros científicos sociales, Lewis,[4] Buitrago[5] y Nieves Falcón, cuando dice: "The vast social science research on Puerto Rico conducted by most North American investigators has contributed very little to a real understanding of our society".[6] El interés de las principales investigaciones de las décadas del cuarenta y del cincuenta seran discutidos brevemente más adelante pero es necesario señalar acquí que entre tanta investigación irrelevante y etnocéntrica se destaca como excepción el estudio de Steward el cual es el estudio mas sofisticado y completo que se hizo en esa época.

Con muy pocas excepciones, una de ellas el grupo de Steward, los investigadores norteamericanos se enfrascaron en el estudio de la sociedad puertorriqueña desde la perspectiva funcionalista y el neopositivismo. Al mismo tiempo se estudiaron casi exclusivamente aquellos problemas inmediatos y concretos que los administradores coloniales necesitaban resolver a corto plazo. El propósito principal de los estudios auspiciados por el Centro de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad de Puerto Rico durante las décadas del cuarenta y el cincuenta fue de una parte entender los impedimentos al modelo de cambio y crecimiento económico conocido como "Operation Bootstrap" y proveer las guías teóricas y prácticas para viabilizar la aplicación del mismo. Los estudios caen en tres categorías principales:

[3] Steward, *The People of Puerto Rico*, p. 5.

[4] Gordon Lewis, *Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean* (Nueva York: Monthly Review Press, 1963).

[5] Carlos Buitrago, *Esperanza: An Ethnographic Study of a Peasant Community in Puerto Rico*. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology (Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1973).

[6] Luis Nieves Falcón, "Puerto Rico: A Case Study of Transcultural Application of Behavioral Science", *Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 10, Núm. 4 (1971), pp. 5–17.

1. estudios de desarrollo económico y características de la fuerza obrera en el cual se destaca el libro de Perloff.[7]
2. estudios de familia, fertilidad y tasa de crecimiento de la población para viabilizar la aplicación masiva de un plan de control de la natalidad. Entre estos se destacan los estudios de Stycos[8] y Hill.[9]
3. estudios de cambio social y la reacción de la población o ajustes al cambio de los cuales el de Tumin y Feldman[10] es el más significativo.

Como producto de esas investigaciones desarrollados con una óptica norteamericana para viabilizar la continuación del colonialismo en Puerto Rico se elaboró todo un esquema valorativo que se le presentó a los puertorriqueños como la gran verdad por ser producto de una ciencia social no comprometida y libre de juicios valorativos. No es necesario entrar aquí en todo el debate acerca del *"value free social science"* que se ha dado en Estados Unidos y especialmente Latinoamérica. Esas versiones norteamericanas del comportamiento y esquemas valorativos del pueblo puertorriqueño se han comenzado a reevaluar y cuestionar por la nueva generación de investigadores puertorriqueños y se plantea que es fundamental conocer las variables ideológicas que intervienen en el desarrollo de una particular explicación. Como bien señala Cook[11] en la introducción a un libro de un antropólogo puertorriqueño:

> The values, beliefs, and loyalties of the social scientist are inevitably conditioned by his sociocultural milieu and are invariably reflected in the conduct and outcome of his research. Today we no longer ask ourselves if such relationship exist but seek to determine how they operate and what their implications are for knowledge.

En adición a la aplicación de las conclusiones de las investigaciones realizadas durante las décadas del cuarenta y el cincuenta en la política pública las mismas tuvieron gran impacto en la enseñanza de las ciencias sociales y contribuyeron a la hegemonía y exclusividad de las corrientes de pensamiento estadounidenses en las ciencias sociales en Puerto Rico. En ese marco institucional los puertorriqueños asumían el rol de ayudantes de investigación y portavoces de los investigadores norteamericanos o se quedaban discutiendo a Ortega y Gasset y la importancia de nuestra raíz hispánica. Aprisionados entre el neo-positivismo, el psicoanálisis, la psicología conductista y la filosofía orteguiana nuestros futuros científicos sociales tuvieron que hacer grandes esfuerzos para romper con los modelos

[7] Harvey S. Perloff, *Puerto Rico's Economic Future* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

[8] J. Mayone Stycos, *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico: a Study of the Lower Income Group* (Nueva York: Columbia University Press, 1955).

[9] Reuben Hill, J. Mayone Stycos and Kurt Back, *The Family and Population Control* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959).

[10] Melvin Tumin and Arnold Feldman, *Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

[11] Scott Cook, "Foreword", E. Seda Bonilla, *Social Change and Personality in a Puerto Rican Agrarian Reform Community* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), p. 1.

prevalecientes y buscar alternativas. Con ese comienzo de nuestras disciplinas no debe asombrarnos el subdesarrollo de las ciencias sociales en nuestro país.

El entrenamiento de puertorriqueños para la investigación y la creación de una escuela de ciencias sociales ubicada en nuestra realidad de país caribeño, colonial y dependiente no fue una prioridad del sector gobernante puertorriqueño ni parte de la responsabilidad social de los muchos investigadores que vinieron a nuestra isla. Podemos afirmar, parafraseando a Gough[12] que las ciencias sociales en Puerto Rico son hijas del imperialismo, y del interés de la burguesía criolla por mantenerse en el poder y hacer las reformas para modernizar el sistema dentro del contexto sociopolítico norteamericano. En ese marco, ante esa realidad es que se entiende la trayectoria de las ciencias sociales en nuestro país y las tendencias actuales dentro del sector que descartó los modelos teóricos de hace dos décadas y buscó alternativas. Antes de esa reacción que comienza en la década del sesenta predominaba una situación de colonialismo intelectual como lo describe Fals Borda[13] (1973). En esa etapa del inicio de las ciencias sociales en nuestro país donde se enseñaba y se aplicaban los conceptos elaborados en la academia norteamericana sin pasarlos por un proceso de crítica la principal reacción de oposición a las ciencias sociales del momento partió de la intelligentsia literaria cuyos enfoques no proveían una alternativa de explicación ni permitía el desarrollo de un nuevo modelo para el análisis de las estructuras sociales, las relaciones de poder y los sistemas ideológicos valorativos que imperaban. Inspirados en las instituciones y disquisiciones literarias de Pedreira[14] lo más que pudo producir ese sector es el testimonio derrotista y patético del puertorriqueño dócil.[15]

En ese contexto y enmarcados en el breve resumen de las tendencias en el desarrollo de las ciencias sociales en nuestro país es que voy a discutir con más detalles la investigación antropológica y las implicaciones del estudio de Steward.

Los primeros intentos de investigación antropológica en nuestro país se remontan a finales del siglo diecinueve con los estudios de materiales arqueológicos y características de la población prehispánica publicados por Coll y Toste[16] y Stahl[17]. La investigación arquológica que continúa con Adolfo de Hostos tiene una larga tradición y se destacan hasta la década del cincuenta los trabajos de Irving Rouse y Ricardo Alegría.[18]

[12] Kathleen Gough, "Anthropology: Child of Imperialism", *Monthly Review*, Vol. 19, Núm. 11 (1968), pp. 12–27.

[13] Orlando Fals Borda, *Ciencia propia y colonialismo intelectual* (México: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1973, 3ra. edición).

[14] Antonio S. Pedreira, *Insularismo* (San Juan: Biblioteca de Autores Puertorriqueños, 1934).

[15] René Marqués, "El puertorriqueño dócil", *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, Vol. 7, Núms. 1–2 (1963), pp. 35–78.

[16] Cayetano Coll y Toste, *Prehistoria de Puerto Rico* (San Juan, 1907).

[17] Agustín Stahl, *Los indios borinqueños: Estudios etnográficos* (Puerto Rico, 1889).

[18] El estado actual de la investigación arqueológica en Puerto Rico amerita una evaluación

La antropología moderna, especialmente la antropología social, comienza a mediados de la década del cuarenta con la llegada de Morris Siegel y John Murra a la Universidad de Puerto Rico como profesores visitantes de antropología. La primera investigación de antropología social es el estudio que hace Siegel[19] del municipio de Lajas.

Voy a examinar esta investigación con algún detalle porque el estudio no se publicó y la única copia del manuscrito que está accesible se encuentra en la biblioteca del Centro de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.

El estudio de Lajas es el primer estudio de comunidad utilizando el método etnográfico. El propósito de este estudio de comunidad, pionero en la investigación antropológica en Puerto Rico es dual. Se desea presentar un análisis de una municipalidad en la cual se reflejaban muchos de los problemas con que se confrontaban gran parte de la población puertorriqueña a mediados de la década del cuarenta. El autor argumenta que en Lajas se presentaban y se podían estudiar con el método etnográfico las condiciones sociales, la desigualdad social, los conflictos de clase, las creencias y modos de vida de la sociedad puertorriqueña, especialmente la situación del proletariado rural de la zona cañera. El segundo propósito de la investigación fue entrenar estudiantes puertorriqueños en los métodos de investigación de campo.[20]

La justificación para seleccionar a Lajas como área de estudio la presenta el autor de la siguiente forma:

> The municipality of Lajas fulfilled all the requirements viewed as essential to a primary anthropological investigation in Puerto Rico: its basic economy is sugar, as is that of the island; it is a rural community, as are most island communities; its white-colored population ratio approximates that of the island; it is not too near to the large urban centers; and its physical organization, although like the other municipalities of Puerto Rico, is compact enough to make field research feasible.

El estudio incluye una breve descripción del pueblo y los barrios, el sistema de tenencia de la tierra y uso del terreno, la importancia del latifundio y las implicaciones sociales de la concentración de la propiedad de la tierra en un número reducido de familias. Se presentan las condiciones de vida y los problemas de un proletariado rural explotado y se discute la estructura de clases de la sociedad lajeña. El estudio de la estructura de clases en Lajas a mediados de la década del cuarenta refleja la preocupación del autor por entender la relación entre la estructura social y el acceso a

que no puedo hacer en este artículo. Para un estudio reciente véase a Diana López Sotomayor. *Vieques: Un momento de su historia* (México: Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1975).

[19] Morris Siegel, "Lajas: A Puerto Rican Town", Ms., Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, 1948.

[20] Los profesores Eugenio Fernández Méndez y Charlie Rosario fueron dos de los estudiantes que participaron en el estudio.

bienes y servicios y como resultado nos presenta un cuadro de una estructura de clases rígida compuesta por los siguientes componentes: Un sector minoritario de grandes terratenientes que no reside en el área, así como los tres sectores que se localizan en el área del municipio: 1. un sector que él llama "clase media" compuesto por dueños de negocios, agricultores acomodados y profesionales; 2. una "clase media baja" constituída por dueños de pequeños negocios (cafetines, barberías, zapaterías, etc.) y agricultores que cultivan menos de 50 cuerdas, así como obreros diestros y artesanos; 3. la gran mayoría de la población, obreros agrícolas cuyos ingresos no sobrepasaban los quince dólares semanales.

Conjuntamente con el análisis de la estructura de clase se analizan los criterios de diferenciación social como lo son la vivienda y sus facilidades, la educación y la relación entre ingreso familiar y gastos de alimentación.

Además de exponer la rígida estructura de clases y su efecto en el desarrollo del individuo—"In Puerto Rico there is the greatest difference in a person's development depending on whether he or she is born to a low class or middle class family"—Siegel analiza las relaciones raciales en Lajas como parte de la cuestión de color en Puerto Rico y la existencia de profundo prejuicio y discriminación contra negros y mulatos. Este análisis se hace en una época en la cual la versión aceptada por los puertorriqueños en posiciones de poder era que no existía discriminación racial alguna y se aceptaban sin cuestionar las conclusiones de Blanco.[21] El análisis de Siegel se ha comprobado por investigaciones posteriores entre las cuales se destacan el estudio de Seda Bonilla[22] y el de Zenón.[23]

Las conclusiones de Siegel son críticas de la condición social de las masas trabajadoras, de la rígida estructura de clases y del racismo de los estratos altos de la sociedad puertorriqueña.

> The investigation of Lajas lays bare the essential structure of the local society, thereby exposing the forces and problems within the society which account for its special character. In a general way the community of Lajas reflects the dominant forces and problems of Puerto Rico as a whole, and it seems certain that the problems of Lajas will not be solved unless those of the island itself achieve a solution. The situation in Lajas is a gloomy one, and so is that of Puerto Rico. The problems are so many and difficult that only the boldest economic and political and social programs would appear to have a chance in lifting the population from its present condition to one of healthy security.

Con respecto al plan de desarrollo del Valle de Lajas el autor dice lo siguiente:

> The Lajas Valley Project, as conceived, does not appear to attack the basic problems besetting the Lajas community. With certain bold changes, however, this project could serve as the spearhead of a program which would drive ahead

[21] Tomás Blanco, *El prejuicio racial en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, 1952).

[22] Eduardo Seda Bonilla, *Los derechos civiles en la cultura puertorriqueña* (Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, 1963).

[23] Isabelo Zenón Cruz, *Narciso descubre su trasero*, Vol. 1 (Humacao: Editorial Furidí, 1974).

toward a real and permanent improvement for the Puerto Ricans. Such a program would require profound transformations in the economic, political, and social character of the island's population.

Según demuestra este breve resumen del estudio de Siegel la antropología en Puerto Rico comienza haciendo un análisis crítico de la situación prevaleciente, de la estructura rígida de clases, de la distribución de la riqueza y del racismo. Esa tradición continúa en el estudio de Steward.

En 1947 aparece el libro de Petrullo,[24] un antropólogo que presenta una visión general de los principales problemas de la sociedad puertorriqueña durante la década del cuarenta y del impacto del imperialismo norteamericano. Dedica gran atención a los conflictos que le crea al puertorriqueño el contacto con la cultura norteamericana y lo que él llama la cultura tradicional puertorriqueña. No hay una conceptualización del concepto de cultura y el autor se limita a comparar rasgos de una y otra cultura. Intenta ser un análisis de la dinámica sociocultural de un sistema colonial pero no se logra y el libro es un conjunto de impresiones y una exposición superficial del problema. En mi opinión el libro de Petrullo no aportó nada al desarrollo de la antropología de nuestro país.

Por el contrario el estudio del grupo de Steward es fundamental para el desarrollo de investigaciones posteriores en Puerto Rico y continúa siendo marco de referencia para muchos investigadores en antropología y disciplinas relacionadas. La importancia de este estudio se debe, en primer lugar, a que es el estudio más completo y comprensivo que tenemos de nuestra sociedad. En segundo lugar se enmarca en los postulados del materialismo cultural en el cual se intenta identificar las condiciones materiales de la vida sociocultural en términos de la articulación entre los procesos de producción y el ambiente. Esta estrategia de investigación que Steward llama "el método de la ecología cultural" constituye el principal desarrollo teórico de la antropología norteamericana a fines de la década del cuarenta. En tercer lugar el estudio ofrece una descripción de todos los componentes de la estructura social y el sistema valorativo de cuatro segmentos de la sociedad puertorriqueña.

Los fundamentos teóricos y metodológicos del estudio de Steward y sus colegas aparecen desglosados en un artículo publicado en 1951 en el cual se discute el concepto de niveles de integración sociocultural como intento de revisión de la metodología y conceptualizaciones desarrollados por los antropólogos en el estudio de sociedades tribales y comunidades campesinas. De acuerdo con Steward este enfoque permite el estudio de sociedades complejas desde una perspectiva antropológica. Se utiliza el concepto de cultura visto como un sistema de valores, normas y relaciones sociales con una lógica propia de organización y de transformación. Se entiende la cultura es resultado de la relación de los procesos de producción y el ambiente. Al

[24] Vincenzo Petrullo, *Puerto Rican Paradox* (Filadelfia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947).

mismo tiempo Steward usa los términos cultura y sistema sociocultural como equivalentes. La estrategia para aplicar el concepto de niveles de integración sociocultural la plantea Steward[25] en la siguiente forma:

> In an effort to delineate some of the significant components of contemporary sociocultural systems and thereby to indicate the features which are susceptible to analysis by the ethnographic method, I have previously suggested that these systems can be viewed in terms of levels of sociocultural integration. According to this concept a total national culture is divisible into two general kind of features; first, those that function and must be studied on a national level; second, those that pertain to socio-cultural segments or subgroups of the population.

Más adelante añade:

> The sociocultural segments are subcultural groups or individuals whose behavior lends itself to the methods of direct observation used by anthropology.[26]

El énfasis del estudio estriba en entender los segmentos o subculturas y prestar poca atención a establecer o entender la integración a nivel nacional. La principal crítica a este estudio[27] es que presenta cuatro buenos estudios de comunidad, un análisis superficial de los estratos altos de la sociedad y que no aparece la visión totalizante ni la integración a nivel de la sociedad nacional. Steward lo justifica como sigue:

> We believe that there would be no point in constructing a list of culture elements shared by all Puerto Ricans or in sampling the total insular population in order to ascertain what is "typical" or most frequent. Our approach has been to view each subculture as an adaptation of the cultural heritage to the employment of particular productive processes in particular environments.[28]

El manuscrito del estudio de Steward no tuvo buena acogida entre los sectores universitarios influyentes en Puerto Rico.[29] El no poder estudiar la documentación y correspondencia relacionada con el mismo no me permite llegar a conclusiones definitivas pero planteo a manera de hipótesis que la descripción y análisis de las desigualdades sociales en las diferentes comunidades, las relaciones de poder y la ausencia de una conceptualización integral del sistema social puertorriqueño no fue del agrado de los auspiciadores del estudio. El estudio de los sectores altos fue severamente criticado[30] por la descripción del consumerismo, búsqueda de status y competencia entre estos. El planteamiento del racismo y sexismo que existía entre los distintos estratos de la población resultaba incómodo a la élite

[25] Julian H. Steward, "Levels of Sociocultural Integration: An Operational Concept", R. Manners y D. Kaplan, *Theory in Anthropology: A Sourcebook* (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), p. 128.

[26] Ibid., p. 129.

[27] Véase el artículo de Eric Wolf que se presentó en el coloquio de CISCLA y se publica conjuntamente con éste.

[28] Steward, *The People of Puerto Rico*, p. 497.

[29] De acuerdo con Eugenio Fernández (comunicación personal) varios profesores y administradores de la Universidad de Puerto Rico se opusieron a la publicación del mismo.

[30] Comunicación personal de Eugenio Fernández Méndez.

intelectual puertorriqueña. Ambos rasgos de nuestra cultura fueron ignorados por muchos años y es posible que se resintiera que antropólogos norteamericanos intentaran estudiar a los puertorriqueños como se estudiaban a "indios" y "nativos". También se criticó la falta de perspectiva histórica y la ausencia de conceptualización de una cultura nacional.

La riqueza de datos sobre la estructura socioeconómica de las distintas comunidades provee información que investigadores posteriores han aprovechado.[31] A pesar del rechazo oficial el estudio tuvo influencia en algunos investigadores y el esquema de acercarse a estudiar nuestra sociedad como conjunto de subculturas se utilizó hasta principios de la década del sesenta.[32] En ocasiones el concepto de subcultura se utilizó en su dimensión más superficial y como argumento contra los exponentes de la existencia y defensa de una cultura nacional puertorriqueña.

Después de Steward el concepto de cultura fue el paradigma predominante de la antropología en Puerto Rico. Es conveniente distinguir entre el desarrollo de la antropología en el contexto universitario (cursos, programas, entrenamientos) y las aportaciones de los antropólogos al análisis de la cultura puertorriqueña y al debate sobre las características de la cultura nacional.

Los primeros cursos de antropología que se ofrecen en la Universidad de Puerto Rico los enseña Morris Siegel.[33] Después de su partida se ofrecieron algunos cursos esporádicos hasta que Arthur Vidich, Beate Salz y Rubén Reina se incorporaron a la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales. Más adelante y durante la década del cincuenta Eugenio Fernández Méndez y Donald Hogg fueron contratados para enseñar antropología pero la creación de un programa sistemático de antropología en la Universidad de Puerto Rico no se logró hasta el 1971.[34]

El método de la ecología cultural y el concepto de niveles de integración sociocultural desarrollado por Steward se continuó en las investigaciones de Mintz[35] pero con la excepción de una pequeña influencia en Fernández Méndez el enfoque de Steward tuvo muy poco impacto en la investigación y la enseñanza de nuestra antropología. El análisis de la cultura y especial-

[31] Me refiero a Angel Quintero Rivera.

[32] Especialmente en el proyecto de investigación que dirigió Howard Stanton en el Departamento de Salud titulado "Family Life of Working Mothers".

[33] No tengo evidencia de que John Murra enseñara cursos de antropología. El tuvo una destacada participación en la creación del curso básico de Ciencias Sociales.

[34] Se ofrecen algunos cursos de antropología, especialmente cursos introductorios en varios de los demás colegios y universidades.

[35] Sidney W. Mintz, "The Role of Forced Labor in Nineteenth Century in Puerto Rico", *Caribbean Historical Review* (Trinidad), II (1951); "The Culture History of a Sugar Cane Plantation, 1876–1949", *Hispanic American Historical Review* (1953), pp. 224–251; "Puerto Rico: An Essay in the Definition of a National Culture", *Status of Puerto Rico: Selected Background Studies* (San Juan: United States-Puerto Rico Status Commission, 1966), pp. 339–434.

mente de las características de la cultura nacional ocupa la atención de los antropólogos puertorriqueños hasta mediados de la década del sesenta.

La figura dominante de la antropología puertorriqueña durante la década del cincuenta es Eugenio Fernández Méndez. En su obra el concepto de cultura es fundamental y el mismo se expone influenciado por el concepto de configuración cultural de Benedict[36] y el funcionalismo de Malinowski.[37]

> Hagamos claro, primero, que habremos de entender el término y concepto de cultura a la manera de los antropólogos; es decir, la entenderemos como esa totalidad compleja que incluye la tecnología y otros artefactos materiales que resultan del trabajo del hombre; las pautas tradicionales de conducta o sistemas sociales de hábitos, que gobiernan las relaciones interpersonales; las normas éticas, estéticas y legales; los sistemas especiales de símbolos como el lenguaje y las matemáticas; las ciencias y el conocimiento (factual o empírico) acumulados; y otros productos de la actividad humana en sociedad. Cultura es, pues, el mundo histórico del hombre en su más amplio sentido.[38]

Al aplicar el concepto antropológico de cultura expuesto arriba al análisis de la sociedad puertorriqueña Fernández Méndez desarrolla el concepto de historia cultural y señala la importancia del análisis histórico para entender los procesos de transformación cultural.

> El describir en su proceso histórico todas las instituciones económicas, políticas, sociales, religiosas, etc., como partes funcionalmente interdependientes de una totalidad o cultura que se articula a un determinado medio geográfico, es quizá el más arduo problema que confronta el historiador o el etnólogo. La periodización cultural supone un extremado escrúpulo metodológico por lo que respecta a definir los criterios o fundamentos de la división periódica y exige con preferencia la fijación de los periodos sobre las bases concretas de una sociedad o cultura real.[39]

El análisis de la cultura puertorriqueña que hace Fernández Méndez está vinculado con el esfuerzo de un sector de nuestra élite intelectual por destacar una configuración cultural puertorriqueña, un ethos, o una cultura nacional para evitar la asimilación total del puertorriqueño a la sociedad norteamericana. Los enfoques teóricos del materialismo cultural y la historia cultural que éste desarrolla durante la década del cincuenta y que aparecen compilados en la publicación de 1970 no culminan en un planteamiento teórico que permita hacer un análisis más correcto y completo del fenómeno cultural puertorriqueño. Las aportaciones de Fernández Méndez se debilitan al asumir nuevamente una posición idealista en el análisis de la cultura que se expresa en su conferencia del 1968[40] en la cual asume una posición de

[36] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Nueva York: Houghton Mifflin, 1934).

[37] Bronislaw Malinowski, "Culture", *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1931), pp. 621–46; *A Scientific Theory of Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 1944).

[38] Eugenio Fernández Méndez, *Historia cultural de Puerto Rico, 1493–1968* (San Juan: Ediciones El Cemí, 1970), p. 4.

[39] Ibid., p. 20.

[40] Eugenio Fernández Méndez, "¿Existe una cultura puertorriqueña?" *Puerto Rico Ilustrado*, 23 de mayo, 1968.

sincretismo intentando integrar los elementos de una cultura puertorriqueña tradicional con los elementos de una llamada cultura norteamericana y la tradición occidental.

Seda Bonilla[41] reaccionó inmediatamente a los planteamientos de Fernández Méndez destacando el concepto de configuración e integración de la cultura. Las investigaciones de Seda Bonilla giran alrededor de la conceptualización de la cultura influenciado por corrientes idealistas y una afirmación nacionalista de nuestra cultura amenazada por la imposición de valores norteamericanos. Encontramos que en la obra de Seda Bonilla se entremezclan cuatro enfoques teóricos principales: la influencia de Benedict y la escuela de cultura y personalidad; el funcionalismo de Merton,[42] el psicoanálisis y los neofreudianos y la conceptualización de la cultura como código que se deriva de la sociolinguística[43] y la etnociencia.[44]

> El concepto de cultura fue propuesto originalmente por el antropólogo inglés Edward B. Taylor en el año 1863, con referencia al complejo total de hábitos, costumbres, arte, religión, lenguaje y todas las destrezas y habilidades que adquiere el ser humano, como miembro de una sociedad, por medio del aprendizaje.
>
> En esta definición se precisa el marco conceptual de una teoría que ha servido de instrumento y ha dado impulso a una cantidad considerable de investigaciones. Los resultados acumulativos de investigaciones sistemáticas sobre las implicaciones de esta teoría han servido de andamiaje al desarrollo de la antropología. El estudio de casos de personas que por alguna razón crecieron ajenas al entorno cultural demuestra que al nacer el ser humano trae ya en su constitución neuro-fisiológica capacidades de aprendizaje que sobrepasan por mucho a las de cualquier otro organismo en la naturaleza. No obstante, por grandes que sean estas potencialidades, solamente pueden ser realizadas en el contexto de una cultura que habilita al individuo para el manejo conceptual de la realidad mediante el lenguaje y enriquece su intelecto con la sabiduría acumulada en ese "recipiente" que es la cultura misma.
>
> La antropología cultural ha demostrado con meridiana claridad que la óptica y la praxis intersubjetivas no se originan en la condición biológica del hombre, sino en la cultura misma que modela el carácter en función de un proyecto histórico. La cultura es el conjunto total de categorías cognoscitivas y valorativas con que se forja la óptica intersubjetiva y la praxis interpersonal.[45]

Las principales aportaciones de Seda Bonilla consisten en sus análisis de las características del racismo puertorriqueño,[46] en describir el patrón au-

[41] Eduardo Seda Bonilla, "La cultura zafacón", *El Mundo*, 20 de abril, 1968, p. 27.

[42] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949).

[43] Dell W. Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking", *Anthropology of Human Behavior* (Washington, D.C.: Anthropological Society of Washington, 1962), pp. 13–53.

[44] Ward H. Goodenough, "Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics", D. Hymes, ed., *Language in Culture and Society* (Nueva York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 36–9.

[45] Eduardo Seda Bonilla, *La cultura política de Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Amauta, 1976), pp. 17–18.

[46] Eduardo Seda Bonilla, "Social Structure and Race Relations", *Social Forces*, Vol. 40, Núm. 2 (1961).

toritario de conducta[47] y en la importancia del concepto de idioma social en el estudio de nuestra sociedad.[48] Este último aspecto fue elaborado por Lauria[49] pero el mismo no se ha investigado extensivamente. En su acercamiento al estudio de la cultura puertorriqueña Seda Bonilla[50] asume una posición nacionalista que no le permite orientar sus análisis para entender la cultura como valores e ideologías que son expresiones de las relaciones materiales dominantes.[51]

En el caso de Mintz[52] se plantea nuevamente la imposibilidad de la existencia de una cultura nacional al concebir ésta fuera de una lucha política y usando el enfoque ecológico que destaca la variedad de subculturas que son producto de relaciones ecológico-culturales.

A mediados de la década del sesenta y aparte del debate sobre la cultura puertorriqueña se comienza a utilizar el análisis estructural y a aplicar el concepto de estructura social en la investigación antropológica en Puerto Rico.[53] En el debate teórico e ideológico entre los antropólogos del Recinto de Río Piedras de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, el cual culminó con la creación de un programa de antropología, prevaleció el análisis estructural influenciado en el principio por el estructural-funcionalismo y la ecología cultural. En la década del setenta se amplian los enfoques[54] y se incorporan las aportaciones teóricas del materialismo histórico.[55] Los conceptos de modo de producción, relaciones de producción y formación social son actualmente instrumentos de análisis en la antropología puertorriqueña.

En mi opinión, con algunas excepciones, la antropología en Puerto Rico ha ejercido una función crítica de las estructuras de poder, elementos de dominación y de la explotación a que está sujeta la mayoría del pueblo. La tradición crítica que comienza con Siegel continúa en la década del setenta. Con excepción de Ricardo Alegría, los antropólogos hemos estado mar-

[47] Seda Bonilla, *Los derechos civiles . . .*, op. cit.

[48] Eduardo Seda Bonilla, "Normative Patterns of the Puerto Rican Family in Various Situational Contexts", Disertación doctoral, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, 1957.

[49] Anthony Lauria, Jr., "Respeto, Relajo, and Interpersonal Relations in Puerto Rico", *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 37, Núm. 2 (1964), pp. 53–67.

[50] Seda Bonilla, *La cultura política . . .*, op. cit.

[51] Karl Marx y F. Engels, *La ideología alemana* (México: Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 1974).

[52] Mintz, "Puerto Rico . . .," op. cit.

[53] Helen I. Safa, "From Shantytown to Public Housing: A Comparison of Family Structure in Two Urabn Neighborhoods of Puerto Rico", *Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 4, Núm. 1 (1964), pp. 3–12; Carlos Buitrago, *Esperanza*, op. cit.; Rafael L. Ramírez. "Social Structure and the Political Process: A Study of Squatter Settlements and Public Housing in a Puerto Rican Urban Area", Disertación doctoral, Department of Anthropology, Brandeis University, 1973.

[54] Con excepción de Beate Salz y Donald Hogg los antropólogos de la Universidad de Puerto Rico se han dedicado exclusivamente al estudio de la sociedad puertorriqueña. En el Recinto de Río Piedras hay nueve antropólogos y dos arqueólogos.

[55] Carlos Buitrago, *Los orígenes históricos de la sociedad precapitalista en Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1976).

ginados de las estructuras de poder y no hemos actuado de intermediarios entre las clases gobernantes y las masas trabajadora como han hecho y hacen otros científicos sociales. La conceptualización elitista de la cultura que domina el trabajo realizado por el Instituto de Cultura no es parte de nuestra tradición antropológica, esa cultura oficial es la expresión ideológica de la burguesía criolla.

Confío en que en los próximos años la nueva generación de antropólogos puertorriqueños evaluará críticamente nuestra disciplina y lo que hemos tratado de hacer en estos últimos diez años.

Julian H. Steward's Perspective on Puerto Rico

René Velázquez

The examination of Steward as an anthropologist is best begun with a brief exposition of the most important theories of Franz Boas, the dominant figure in American anthropology in the early twentieth century. Boas was a German deeply influenced by German historical idealism, especially by the philosopher of history Wilhelm Dilthey.[1] Dilthey made a sharp distinction between the study of nature and the study of history and culture. To him,

> . . . knowledge in the field of cultural science was derived through some kind of *internal* process—through living experience and understanding rather than merely externally, as was the case with natural science. Hence meaning in history was not fixed, but changed with the situation in time and culture of the historian himself, and with the active decisions he took in his personal world.[2]

Thus, to understand another period or another culture, the scientist would have to abandon his group and personal assumptions and internalize those of the period or culture he was studying.[3] Boas brought this attitude to the United States, together with the belief that the most decisive aspects of a culture were irrational and emotional.[4] His student Alfred I. Kroeber, who became Steward's teacher, carried on this tradition with some modifications. Kroeber divided culture into two parts, which he at first called "basic" and "secondary" features, and later reality and value culture. The basic features of culture are concerned with material subsistence while the secondary features "are expressions of creative impulses and playful experimentation."[5]

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[1] Elvin Hatch, *Theories of Man and Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), pp. 37–8, 42.

[2] H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorganization of European Thought, 1890–1930* (New York: Vintage, 1961), p. 195.

[3] Hatch, op. cit., p. 39.

[4] Ibid., p. 55.

[5] Ibid., pp. 95–6.

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The terminology used by Kroeber would suggest that the most important aspects of culture were his "basic" features. However, he spent most of his life studying the secondary features, probably because to him they were not secondary but the most fully human and valuable aspects of culture.[6] Thus while he modified Boas' thinking he basically remained within the tradition of German historical idealism, which emphasized the non-material and particularistic in history and culture.

Steward, together with Leslie White and Robert Redfield, Americanized anthropology in the United States. They shifted the emphasis *from the non-material to the material aspects* of culture and returned for theoretical inspiration to the nineteenth century American evolutionist Lewis H. Morgan. Marvin Harris points out, too, that "the mounting interest techno-environmental and techno-economic relationships reflects a broad movement aimed at strengthening the scientific credentials of cultural anthropology within the prestigious and well-funded natural sciences."[7] The emphasis on the environment, the technology, and the economy as the most important factors in understanding a culture reflects an old American attitude that views nature as something to be subjugated and exploited, and dominant anthropological theories have served to justify colonialism.[8] As Helen Lackner has put it:

> The United States has replaced Britain and France as the main imperialist nation, their own cultural relativism [previously their leading anthropological theory] has developed into evolutionism, a theory which provides a good basis for a high level of interventionism under the guise of civilizing the natives.[9]

These theories about technology and economy have provided American authorities with information which they can use in the imposition of economic dependency upon subjugated territories, just as British funtionalism justified the implementation of the principle of "indirect rule" by providing information about the power structure of colonialized groups.

Steward says that in 1947 Clarence Senior, who moved with ease from academic to government posts, suggested a project to him for the application of social science methods to the socio-economic problems of Puerto Rico. The project was supported by the Puerto Rican government and the Rockefeller Foundation.[10] Later Steward claims that "insights gained through cultural analysis are valuable in action programs if they shed light on large numbers of people."[11] (*Ibid.*, 23). But he does not reveal whether this particular project is relevant to any specific "action program." We might wonder what would make the government and the Rockefeller Foundation

[6] Ibid., p. 107.

[7] Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory* (New York: Crowell, 1968), p. 655.

[8] Talal Asad (ed.), *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973).

[9] Ibid., p. 149.

[10] Julian H. Steward et al., *The people of Puerto Rico: A Study in Social Anthropology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), p. V.

[11] Ibid., p. 23.

provide funds for an anthropological study of Puerto Rico in 1947 that would emphasize the economic aspects of culture. An answer is suggested by the date, since the legislation known as "Operation Bootstrap" was being approved at this time. In his preface, Steward mentions some changes that took place after the research was completed but were not mentioned in the studies, such as the Commonwealth Constitution and Operation Bootstrap. But he does not relate any of these changes to the "action programs" he had mentioned previously.

The purpose of the study, according to Steward, was to understand the contemporary culture of Puerto Rico in terms of the ecological adaptation of the historical culture patterns to the environment, and the characteristics of the totality of Puerto Rican culture. He admits, nevertheless, that the anthropological or ethnographic method is inappropriate for such an enterprise unless it receives the help of the other social sciences.[12] However, the ethnographic method of community study through participant observation techniques was used for data collection, and Steward tried to deal with the broader issues of society and history through the theory of levels of sociocultural integration. The theory assumed that, without investigating the totality of the culture, relationships between segments and the totality could be known.[13] But his theory did not bridge the gap between community study and society; the segments could not be understood apart from the whole. Though Steward admits that history is the one discipline that deals with the totality of a society,[14] the assistance of professional historians was not sought. Why? Perhaps professional history did not have the aura of science needed for the project. Perhaps because historians, by instinct and training, are interested in power, a topic that is carefully avoided both in Steward's theory and in the final reports.

In applying the theory of levels of sociocultural integration, there was no attempt to integrate the insular level with the U.S. level, since this would have entailed a thorough treatment of colonialism—another factor, like power, which is avoided.[15] This segmental approach to culture, despite the attempts to overcome its defects, was not successful. Steward found it difficult, if not impossible, to specify the characteristics of Puerto Rican culture. He defines "the culture of a modern nation as a composite of various subcultures as well as nationally shared traits which distinguish all members of a nation from the members of any other nation."[16] His method led him to conclude that "the cultural features and the attitudes *shared* by all Puerto Ricans are overshadowed by the *differences* between the various classes and regional sociocultural segments. Many of the subcultural groups that have developed in response to new national trends are not distinctive of Puerto

[12] Ibid., pp. 1–2.
[13] Ibid., p. 27.
[14] Loc. cit.
[15] Ibid., pp. VI, 16–17, 27.
[16] Ibid., p. 10.

Rico but are very similar to groups in other parts of the world where comparable economic and cultural factors have been introduced."[17]

Thus at the insular level the national culture disappears before our eyes while its segments are related to extrainsular sociocultural groups. That conclusion has political implications, in that it suggests that Puerto Rico lacks a true national culture, being composed only of cultural segments related to each other through secondary cultural traits. But, the conclusion fits Steward's theoretical needs because the incorporation of isolated segments into a larger whole fits the model of levels of sociocultural integration. Again, like British functionalism, the anthropological theory seems to give scientific support to the policies of metropolitan authorities.

The *theory of cultural ecology* lends similar support. According to Steward, the scientist "works within a conceptual framework which requires that he make his problem explicit, categorize his data, select and reject data according to their central problem, and present his conclusions systematically and explicitly in terms of relationship between selected phenomena."[18] How is the central problem to be determined and the data selected and rejected? The answer supplied by Steward is cultural ecology, that is, the "processes by which culture is selectively borrowed and adapted to a particular environment. The adaptations primarily involve land use."[19] He suggests three steps in the process: 1. determination of the "types of productive processes which are historically available in the lending culture," 2. determination of "the cultural and environmental factors which cause certain of these to be selected by the new area"; and, 3. analysis of "the modifications in the productive processes in a new environment . . . and their effects upon other aspects of culture." Thus the emphasis is on the environment, the technology, and the economy of a sociocultural group, whose "major characteristics . . . tend to be associated with the principal features of the productive patterns."[20]

In contrast Steward defines culture as consisting "of socially transmitted or learned ideas, attitudes, traits of overt behavior, and suprapersonal institutions."[21] Such a definition does not seem suitable for a theory of culture which emphasizes the materialist aspects of culture. However, when Stew-

[17] Ibid., pp. 11–501. Steward's attitude is to be seen in the following: "These characteristics of the Puerto Rican family represent national uniformities, but they do not evidence national unity. They are aspects of a pre-industrial society in which human relations are phrased predominantly in personal and reciprocal terms rather than with reference to impersonal, national institutions." Ibid., p. 500. What then would be evidence of national unity? As Métraux wrote: "The authors do not discuss the unmistakable regularities [not uniformities] that can be derived from their own analysis." Rhoda Métraux, Review of *The People of Puerto Rico*, *The Annals of the American Academy*, No. 312, p. 169.

[18] Ibid., pp. 21–2.

[19] Ibid., p. 15; Julian H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), pp. 40–1.

[20] Steward, The People of Puerto Rico, op. cit., p. 23.

[21] Ibid., pp. 5, 14.

ard gives a list of cultural features, the examples he chooses are enlightening: "thatched houses, mortar made of logs, grinding stones, calabash containers, wooden dishes and stools, hammocks, baskets, manioc or yucca presses, and even magic and folk forms of Catholicism."[22] Very few of these cultural features remain in Puerto Rico although magic and folk forms of Catholicism appear to still have a great influence in our culture.

A theory derived from particular aspects of American culture, such as the exploitative attitude towards nature, the emphasis on the production of material goods, and the need to justify domination in terms of economic development, is imposed upon a culture which may or may not be based on the same or similar ideas. Such a theory and procedure may tell us a great deal about the anthropologist's culture but be irrelevant to the culture studied. Steward justifies the use of a rigid theoretical model by claiming that "it is very debatable whether an outsider can immerse himself so thoroughly in a culture that he can experience its emotional overtones as well as observe its forms. And it is doubtful whether this is desirable, for it might lead to a degree of subjectivity and empathy that could easily warp his perspective."[23]

Since culture is learned, that proposition is dubious. The goal of the anthropologist should be to learn about a culture as fully as possible, combining both an insider's and an outsider's perspective. To dismiss everything that is not related to environmental adaptations as "emotional overtones" is at the very least counter-productive, for it condemns the anthropologist to the description and analysis of exteriors without understanding internalized structures.

[22] Ibid., p. 7.

[23] The issue is not very different in historical scholarship. H. R. Trevor-Roper regards the reconstruction of the "emotional overtones" as one of the most important tasks of the historian: "It is over twenty years since the war began. A generation has grown up which never knew the 1930's, never shared its passions and doubts, was never excited by the Spanish civil war, never boiled with indignation against the "appeaser," never lived in suspense from Nuremberg Rally to Nuremburg Rally, awaiting the next hysterical outburst, the next clatter of arms, from the megalomaniac in Berlin. Those of us who knew those days and who try to teach this new generation are constantly made aware of this great gulf between us. How can we communicate across such a gulf the emotional content of those years, the mounting indignation which finally convinced even the 'appeasers' themselves that there could be no peace with Hitler, and caused the British people to go, united into war? For it was not the differing shades of justice in Germany's claim upon the Rhineland, Austria, the Sudetenland, Prague, and Danzig which caused men who had swallowed the first of these annexations to be increasingly exasperated by those which followed and take up arms against the last. . . . It was a changing mood, a growing conviction that all such claims were but pretexts under which Hitler pursued not justice or self-determination for Germany but world-conquest, and that, now or never, he must be stopped. And even across the gulf such a mood must be conveyed by those who teach history to those who learn it: for it is an element in history no less important than the mere facts." H. R. Trevor-Roper, "A. J. P. Taylor, Hitler, and the War," W. R. Louis (ed.), *The Origins of the Second World War* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972), pp. 44–58. Also in *Encounter*, July, 1961.

Even though Steward claims that the research group "dealt in one way or another with virtually all aspects of Puerto Rican culture," the so-called "emotional overtones" and many "peripheral problems" were neglected.[24] Are we to consider national institutions a peripheral problem? Yet "detailed analysis of the national institutions for their own sake was beyond the possible scope of the present project."[25]

The attitudes that permeate the work are interesting for the light they shed on the relationships between the researchers and their subjects, and on some of the pitfalls of anthropological research. The fact is avoided that some of the researchers were representatives of a nationality and social class to whom the reactions of Puerto Ricans will rarely be neutral, a nationality and social class that has prestige and power in Puerto Rico. The most that we get is the remark that "one or two communities were avoided because antagonism had prevented studies in the past."[26]

Steward suggests that to solve these "methodological" problems common sense was used. He cites approvingly the dictum that "science is organized and applied common sense."[27] But whose common sense? There is an assumption here that the anthropologist's culture is the standard for the rest of the world in terms of time and place, a denial of the important concept of cultural relativism that anthropology has taught us. These "common sense" attitudes lead to errors and data of dubious worth. Anyone who has traveled in the rural districts of Puerto Rico is aware that even the poorest peasant will offer him a cup of coffee as a sign of welcome despite Steward's statement that "an emphasis upon . . . hospitality can find little implementation in an impoverished laboring class."[28] Steward also says that "to treat the data of foreign cultures in terms of those of the United States is a common ethnocentric fallacy,"[29] yet, the instructions on racial classification read: "Race to be entered according to the interviewer's opinion. White and negro mean obvious and extreme characteristics. Most persons are probably genetically mixed."[30]

There are also patronizing attitudes, and serious misrepresentations of Puerto Rican cultural traits and of the relations between the anthropologist and the people studied. Steward, for example, refers to the anthropologist

[24] Ibid., pp. 22, 25, 26.

[25] Ibid., p. 9.

[26] Ibid., p. 19. Nadel, for one, has described some of the ethnographic methods he used which might have stirred up antagonism to anthropological research. "As a rule the most successful approach lies in stimulating the informant emotionally and thus overcoming his indolence or his reluctance to discuss certain points. . . . I have found it most profitable to stimulate the emotionality of a few chief informants to the extent of arousing almost violent disputes and controversies . . . a "bullying" technique of this type amounts to the deliberate introduction of leading questions . . . (Asad, pp. 11–161).

[27] Ibid., p. 20.

[28] Ibid., pp. 11, 487.

[29] Ibid., p. 20.

[30] Ibid., p. 514.

and the people he studies as "his people,"[31] a position as preposterous as a historian of ancient history writing about *his* Roman Empire! He also mentions "the very wonderful people of Puerto Rico,"[32] although it is almost certain that all Puerto Ricans are not "very wonderful." Much more revealing of an attitude of condescension is the use of the word *compadre*. We are told that

> . . . ritual kinship (*compadrazgo*) relations obtain only between members of the laboring class, for the barrier between workers and managers is too great to be crossed in the *compadrazgo*. Within the laboring class, however, ritual kinship promotes solidarity among class equals through reducing competition for jobs and increasing economic and social solidarity."[33]

Yet in the preface one of the co-authors thanks his *compadres*.[34] Were these *compadres* laborers or managers? If the former, how was a foreigner able to cross the social barrier? There is not only misrepresentation of a social relationship here, but a lack of awareness that the anthropologist is a representative of a superordinate group. These examples might only be the detritus of an anthropology *a la Nadel*.

More important, from a theoretical point of view, is the reluctance of Steward to admit the factor of power into his scheme. Specifically, the relations between the United States and Puerto Rico are touched upon only incidentally and are not "integrated" into his theory of sociocultural integration. The most graphic example of this is to be seen in a diagram entitled "Comparative Power Structure of the Four Rural Communities."[35] The United States government is conspicuous by its absence. In his theoretical discussion of power relationships,[36] and of the integration of the class and subcultural groups,[37] the analysis stops at the insular level, even though it should have been obvious that such aspects of Puerto Rican culture as "the government and legal system, political parties, labor unions, educational system, export and import trade, money, banking, and credit organizations, churches and official church doctrines, the military, and certain organized sports"[38] could not possibly have been understood without an analysis of the U.S. presence in Puerto Rico. Why has it not been dealt with? Gordon Lewis has suggested that there is among Americans a reluctance to admit that their country practices colonialism.[39] When American influence is considered, it is underplayed.

[31] Ibid., p. 21.
[32] Ibid., p. VII.
[33] Ibid., p. 475.
[34] Ibid., p. VII.
[35] Ibid., p. 473.
[36] Ibid., pp. 472–3.
[37] Ibid., p. 8.
[38] Loc. cit.
[39] Gordon Lewis, *Puerto Rico: A Case Study in the Problem of Contemporary Federalism* (Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1960).

> Certain widely shared values, generally involving practices and beliefs only at the family or community level, are threatened by the impact of American culture upon the island. These, however, do not involve institutional features which give structural and functional unity to the island as a whole. More direct interference in certain areas of life, such as the enforced teaching of English in the public schools until 1948 [sic.], restrictions on cockfighting and the imposition of the draft, has been applied under American rule.[40]

It is incongruous to mention in the same sentence (with the implication of equal importance), compulsory military service in the interest of the United States and the attempt to change the vernacular of Puerto Rico from Spanish to English together with the attempt to suppress cockfighting.

The "discussion" of imposition is quite revealing. The sentence structure itself hides the origin of the language policy. Steward writes: "Teaching of school subjects had to be done in English."[41] Padilla repeats it as: "It had been required that English be taught in the schools."[42] Only Wolf mentions the imposition of English as the language of instruction in the schools and discusses its negative effects but even he calls it an *introduction* rather than an imposition.[43] Scheele, however, is quite specific in pointing out that the Puerto Rican upper classes wanted their children to be taught in English.[44] While there is an index entry for "Spanish colonial system,"[45] there is no equivalent entry for the United States. The euphemism used is American "Occupation." The relations between the United States government and the "Puerto Rican" government are discussed in a very superficial manner on three different pages.[46] The most "profound" of these "analyses" is under the subheading "Democracy in Puerto Rico."[47] Padilla states that the "relations between the United States government and the government of Puerto Rico are mediated through institutional channels which remain invisible and cannot be understood on the local level."[48] The authors do very little to make these relations visible.

Other examples could be given to show that both the theory and practice exemplified in *The People of Puerto Rico* tend toward a denial of the existence of a Puerto Rican culture, a justification of the "change of sovereignty," and an obfuscation of the power relations between the United States and Puerto Rico. Among these examples there is the treatment of the so-called Spanish heritage, the discussion of the upper classes, and the neglect of a profound historical analysis. One final comment will make Steward's perspective clear. He begins his discussion of nationalism in

[40] Steward, *The People of Puerto Rico*, op. cit., pp. 500–1.
[41] Ibid., p. 481.
[42] Ibid., p. 301.
[43] Ibid., p. 254.
[44] Ibid., p. 438.
[45] Ibid., p. 538.
[46] Ibid., pp. 83, 105, 248.
[47] Ibid., pp. 83.
[48] Ibid., pp. 299.

Puerto Rico with comments on nativistic movements. He admits that "it is impossible to treat Puerto Rico in precisely the terms outlined above."[49] Then why begin the analysis of Puerto Rican nationalism with comments on nativistic movements? Why not begin it with a discussion of the antecedents of the American War of Independence? Certainly the impression left is that Puerto Rican nationalism is irrational.

When first published *The People of Puerto Rico* was the most complete and probably the best anthropological analysis of Puerto Rican culture that had been made. (From another point of view Pedreira's *Insularismo*[50] should not be overlooked.) It probably remains the most complete. But books age and attitudes change; it is now a historical document, and needs to be placed in context in the development of anthropological theory.

As a historian, and in contrast to Steward, I do not think that the material aspects of culture are either the most important or the most interesting. Puerto Ricans no longer primarily cultivate sugar, coffee, and tobacco, and yet we remain Puerto Ricans. I favor the precept that

> . . . knowledge in the field of culture science [is] derived through some kind of *internal* process—through living experience and understanding—rather than merely externally, as [is] the case with natural science. Hence meaning in history [and anthropology is] not fixed, but [changes] with the situation in time and culture of the historian [and anthropologist] himself, and with the active decisions he [takes] in his personal world.[51]

[49] Ibid., pp. 499.
[50] Antonio S. Pedreira, *Insularismo* (San Juan: Biblioteca de Autores Puertorriqueños, 1934).
[51] Hughes, op. cit., p. 195.

The People of Puerto Rico and the "Culturing System" Concept

Ronald J. Duncan

I. Anthropology as Western Epistemology

All science is embedded in a cultural background and reflects the values and epistemology of the society that accepts it. Anthropology is a Western epistemological system used to explain a culturally diverse world. As such, it is characterized by the two basic elements, units and relationships, to which Kant and Hegel, respectively, gave their attention. The first demonstrated the methodological utility of discrete units, the second the greater descriptive completeness achieved by the specification of relationships that hold between units. This epistemological framework prevailed in the last century with the second major wave of European expansion into the non-Western world: when the American West was conquered, the British took India, and both Africa and Asia were sub-divided into colonies.

When the colonized peoples did not conform to European behavioral expectations, major problems arose in the administration of the new territories. The newly developing field of anthropology helped to explain these behavioral differences in terms of "culture" and "evolution." A basic principle of anthropological research was established then, that the people under study should be culturally different from the investigator. The native culture of those early anthropologists unavoidably provided the units by which all other cultures were measured and understood.

Steward, Cultural Types and American Anthropology

The theoretical basis of *The People of Puerto Rico*[1] is in the mainstream of this Western epistemological tradition. In defining culture, Steward says,

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[1] Julian Steward, editor, *The People of Puerto Rico* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956).

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"Culture in the abstract consists of socially transmitted or learned ideas, attitudes, traits of overt behavior, and suprapersonal institutions."[2] In this definition units are "ideas," "attitudes," "traits" and "institutions," and the relationships are "socially transmitted" and "suprapersonal."

He says that "culture" as a whole is not an operational unit of research, so that researchable sub-units must be identified:

> Instead of attempting to ascertain what the culture of the average or typical Puerto Rican was like or of trying to study all of the many special varieties of behavior, we chose to analyze the lifeways of certain *special segments and classes* which are numerically important. [Emphasis added][3]

The resulting study of Puerto Rico is divided into typological units, or subcultures, including tobacco community, coffee community, government-owned sugar plantation, rural sugar plantation and prominent families. As such, Puerto Rican culture could be summarized by this limited number of economic and political factors.

The concept of subcultural types came into anthropology precisely when anthropologists began doing peasant studies. Earlier anthropological research had dealt with the smaller, more homogeneous groups of tribal peoples. The work of Robert Redfield, Robert Park and Howard Becker, among others resulted in the classic statement of the ideal type, the "folk society."[4] Redfield used ideal types to form the four stages of the "folk-urban continuum" in his study of Yucatan.[5]

Cultural typologizing aims to produce a logically complete system in which a limited number of types make up a workable whole, and the whole should be definitive. The result is a crystallized theoretical system that explains repetition in human behavior but does not explain non-system related change. The role of the individual in cultural innovation is de-emphasized in favor of cultural patterning. The result is stylized analysis that sacrifices enthnographic accuracy for theoretical tightness.

Anthropologists and National Cultures

The use of such stylized theoretical models has brought analytical problems and conflict with members of the societies being investigated. The analytical problems stem from the fact that many behavioral factors are eliminated from consideration in the streamlined typologies. Social conflict occurs because the analyses are sometimes socially offensive. For example, in *The People of Puerto Rico* the common question among anthropologists and social science readers in Puerto Rico is, "Where are the people?" The theoretical model building and the cultural typologizing become so important as to block out a clear view of the people studied.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 1.

[4] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LII, No. 4 (1947), pp. 293–308.

[5] Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

The referent culture of the anthropologist requires that he or she stand back from the "native" culture and be objective, but that anthropological posturing sometimes leads to better logical style than science. A "scientific attitude" can lead to emotional and social barriers between the researcher and the subject, even resulting in an exploitative attitude of getting the data without concern for local sympathies and retreating to the isolated security of one's university to do the analysis.

The rejection of anthropological researchers by many people demonstrates the weaknesses of the relationship between anthropologists and subjects of research.[6] Nina Friedemann, a Colombian anthropologist points out that:

> Scientific knowledge being the patrimony of human society, it is a paradoxical fact that while the Colombian institutions of anthropological research do fulfill principles of freedom of investigation and open their doors to foreign scientists, foreign research bodies do not reciprocate.[7]

Two years after Friedemann's 1971 article, the Colombian Institute of Anthropology decreed its well-known *Resolución 626 bis* which narrowly limits the role of foreign anthropologists, so that few now do research in Colombia. The welcome for anthropologists has also grown cooler in Peru, in Chile, and among many North American Indian groups.

A Moribund Traditional Anthropology

> Anthropology will survive in a changing world by allowing itself to perish in order to be born again under a new guise.[8]

The anthropologies of Boas, Kroeber, White and Steward are history. The discipline has evolved into so many variations on the original theme that the original itself has become blurred. "Adjective anthropologies," such as humanistic, visual, medical, educational, and marxist, are attempts to pull theory into a meaningful perspective for contemporary society. Wolf, Mintz and others have moved to the very limits of the discipline in such publications as *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*.[9] The evolutionism and typologizing of Steward are no longer adequate. In a period of "rethinking" and "reinventing" anthropology,[10] field sites have been revisited, research relationships re-established, and new analytical methods instituted. The world and the anthropology that relates to it have been redefined.

The problems in the field require more than an adjustment of method; they require a new kind of anthropologist who is not limited to the logical

[6] Dell Hymes, ed., *Reinventing Anthropology* (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 5.

[7] Nina Friedemann, "Some Points on the Responsibility of Anthropologists: A Colombian View," Paper delivered at the 1971 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association (New York), p. 7.

[8] Claude Levi-Strauss, "Anthropology: Its Achievements and its Future," in *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1966), p. 126.

[9] Eric Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1969).

[10] Hymes, op. cit.

training of traditional Western epistemologies. They require a personal evaluation of the experience of the anthropologist in relation to the research he or she is doing. Since anthropologists, as cultural beings, are limited by the epistemology of their own culture, they must make adjustments for those limitations in theory and methodology. No longer must the anthropologist be non-native or stand back to assume objectivity. Nativeness has a role in analyzing the subtleties of social and cultural process because intuition can signal factors that require investigation.

II. A New Anthropology

A New Concept of Culture

The concept of culture has long been the central concept used by American anthropologists, and culture has traditionally been conceptualized in terms of forms. Most of the effort in traditional anthropology was to define mutually exclusive forms that would fit together logically. Now, the movement is away from that kind of rigid analytical system. Eric Wolf described this shift as follows:

> If the human design cannot take shape except through the mediation of culture, then the discussion is returned to the concept of culture; the concept *sine qua non* of the anthropologist. But, I shall suggest, we are confronting a concept vastly different in shape and meaning from the concept that occupied the anthropologist at an earlier time.
>
> The fact is that the concept of culture no longer denotes a watertight category, clearly separate and separable from watertight categories, such as The Environment or Man as an Organism. We have moved on to emphasize interrelationships, and to visualize chains of systems within systems, rather than isolated phenomena with impermeable boundaries.[11]

The typological conception of culture could only deal with positive forms: a tale, a kinship term or a house type. The fact that a given behavior did not exist could not be dealt with. When culture ceases to be only traits and incorporates process, everything counts, even nothing, such as non-power, non-cultural momentum, and other such "nons" that are crucial to the understanding of the cultural process. Non-forms, such as processes and relationships, join forms as primary dimensions of culture to be analyzed.

If there is formed behavior, there must be an opposite, unformed behavior.[12] Given that our central nervous system requires forms to organize and communicate experience, it is impossible to translate formless experience into units for cognitive encoding, transference and storing without eliminating formlessness. Sensory and felt experiences are translated into formal terms to fit cognitive requirements.[13] Culture, then, is the dimension of

[11] Eric Wolf, *Anthropology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 53.

[12] Gregory Bateson, "Redundancy and Coding," in T. A. Sebeok, editor, *Animal Communication* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 622.

[13] Eugene C. D'Aquili, "The Biopsychological Determinants of Culture," McCaleb Module in Anthropology, No. 13 (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1972), p. 9.

human behavior that has to do with arbitrary form, including its generation or acquisition, organization and retention, modification, interpretation and execution.

Steward's materialistic ecology of human behavior can now be elaborated to include the subjects' cognition and biological processes as parts of the behavioral system. Steward was correct in identifying subcultures as an analyzable aspect of human behavior, but he was unable to go beyond to conceptualize the innovative and generative aspects of human behavior that could alter those subcultures. Chomsky,[14] Cicourel[15] and others have made important theoretical contributions in this area in recent years.

The "Culturing System" Concept

A concept of behavior that can incorporate innovative and generative dimensions into an overall ecology of behavior could be called a "culturing system": the realization of behaviors by individuals based on their own experience and the influences of the physical and social environments. The culturing system, then, is the unit of analysis which would include both the individual and the subculture.

Since human individuals are born without culture, it is formulated arbitrarily.[16] The influence of history and ecology bring about certain cultural forms, but humans are also capable of creating forms that are not needed. The changing factors of self and context are the reference points around which behavior is arbitrarily shaped. The specific forms, organization and execution of behavior are acquired and constructed dimensions of the culturing system. Cognition is the organization of the cultural forms.[17]

A culturing system depends on experiential factors relative to age, physical appearance, history, climate, etc. which vary from place to place, from period to period, and from individual to individual. Since experience is a continuing, fluid phenomena, behavior is continually tested and adjusted.

The experience of the individuals of a group establishes the limits within which the culturing system is formed. As experience evolves, so does the culturing system. It flows like a stream, constantly changing its make-up, gradually altering its environment and eventually its own shape. If one takes a cup of water from the stream to examine its formal properties, one no longer has the stream. The molecular and chemical content can be analyzed, and knowledge of these formal properties can have explanatory value when the water is put back into the stream. These formal properties are only one set of variables which must be combined with others to explain the stream.

[14] Noam Chomsky, *Language and Mind* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968); *The Problems of Knowledge and Freedom* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971).

[15] Aaron Cicourel, *Cognitive Sociology* (New York: The Free Press, 1974).

[16] Ralph Holloway, Jr., "Culture: A Human Domain," in *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1969), p. 399.

[17] C. Laughlin, and Eugene D'Aquili, *Biogenetic Structuralism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

So, with human behavior the formal properties of the culturing system have explanatory significance only in the matrix of experience.

III. Culturing Systems and Cultural Types

The culturing system concept, like cultural types, is a concept grounded in Western epistemology. Whereas cultural types put the basic emphasis on the cultural form as the unit of analysis, the culturing system broadens that to analyze the processual aspects of the generation, acquisition, retention, execution and interpretation of cultural forms.

The introduction of processual factors reduces the rigidity of the former, permitting greater precision in the description of behavior which leads to analyses that are more relevant to society and less offensive. The culturing system concept responds to anthropology's role as a social science to be scientific and socially responsible.

El Pueblo de Puerto Rico: ¿Dónde esta el Pueblo?

Eduardo Seda

Hay un adagio sobre dos beodos del Bowery, en Nueva York que se pelean por un desacuerdo: uno alegaba que las cosas iban mal porque sólo les quedaba media botella del vino barato que habían comprado con un "serrucho", y el otro alegaba que todo andaba bien porque todavía les quedaba media botella. Muchos de los desacuerdos entre los estudiosos de la construcción fenomenológica, social y cultural[1] nos recuerdan esta famosa pelea y la de los ciegos del poeta John Godfre Saxe. Estos últimos se peleaban porque el elefante que cada uno conocía al tacto no era el elefante que el otro conocía. Para uno, el elefante era soga porque la parte que había tocado era el rabo, para otro era colmillo, para otro barriga, para otro patas y así por el estilo. Para mí, si fuera ciego Hindustan del cuento reduciría la obra de Julian Steward, *The People of Puerto Rico* al momento en que recién salía graduado de la Universidad de Puerto Rico y me cerraban las puertas de empleo profesional en todas partes por discrimen por motivos políticos. En esa época, no había trabajo para los independentistas en el Departamento de Instrucción Pública donde fui a solicitar una plaza de maestro rural, ni en la División de Educación Cooperativa, ni en el programa de Educación de la Comunidad, ni en las oficinas de Bienestar Público. Me enteré por un amigo que trabajaba en la biblioteca que se estaba incubando un proyecto antropológico y me dirigí ese mismo día a mi maestro de antropología, Dr. John V. Murra, que estaba a cargo del proyecto. De sobra sabía que el profesor Murra no discriminaría por motivos políticos contra mí. Así fue como conseguí mi

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1. Eduardo Seda, "Cultural Construction of Reality Among Puerto Ricans", M.S.

primer empleo en el campo al cual dedicaría el resto de mi vida. Desde el mismo punto de óptica particularista recuerdo un incidente en las primeras reuniones del proyecto en casa del profesor Warreck, hoy día pintor de fama, en la finca residencial de la Universidad. Eran las seis de la tarde, la hora del coctel. Se celebraba en esa ocasión de la visita de Steward al grupo del proyecto. Después de unos tragos, Steward, enterado de mi posición política, se acercó y me preguntó en inglés que era eso de colonialismo. En mi inglés chamuscado de esa época, aserté solo a decirle con mucho sudor en la frente y miedo de perder la chamba, "Pues es yo tenerle que decir a usted que es eso de colonialismo en inglés". Lo tomó a bien pero no aprendió español.

El elefante de la convivencia de un pueblo tiene en efecto muchas más trompas, patas, y rabos que ángeles caben en la punta de un alfiler. La fenomenología convertida en imprevisación sin conciencia de proyecto histórico capitaliza en esa multiplicidad de particularidades para crear la incoherencia absurda el populismo.[2]

Es obvio que al intentar ubicar al estudio, *The People of Puerto Rico,* en el panorama antropológico de su época, pueda uno caer en el sectarismo que es fruto de la perspectiva que uno toma como punto de partida si le añade una dosis de dogmatismo. Con esa conciencia, confió en que la visión que mis colegas presentan amplien este panorama que aquí intentamos presentar a grandes razgos y a riesgo de sobre-simplificar.

La cuestión criterial que ha de plantearse en esta ponencia es si la fenomenología que el investigador formula tiene relevancia al proyecto histórico de la sociedad que estudia o si su diseño teórico o metodológico contribuye al adelantado de la disciplina qua disciplina científica.

A juicio nuestro, la fenomenología del estudio de Steward y su grupo tiene muy poca relevancia al proyecto histórico de la gente puertorriqueña. Creo que ésta ha sido la crítica más severa al libro, cuando se hacía en alusión al título, *The People of Puerto Rico,* "Where are the people?" La relevancia de esta obra es a la disciplina antropológica. Es punto final, cierre, y conclusión de un ciclo histórico en la periodización del pensamiento antropológico.

La antropología como ciencia se originó en el momento del evolucionismo cultural de mediados del siglo 19 que dialécticamente rebota en la postura del difusionismo mecanicista de parchos e hilachas. El difusionismo convertiría la fenomenología cultural, en fragmentos de ideografía y trivializadas. Con un concepto de cultura de museo habrá a su vez de concitar la postura funcionalista. El funcionalismo reduce el "elefante" de la realidad fenomenológica a lo sincrónico en ignorancia de la diacrónica: "si se conoce la contribución de un razgo al conjunto, se

2. Eduardo Seda, *Réquiem para una Cultura.* (San Juan: Ediciones Bayoán, 1974).

conoce todo lo que hace falta conocer", "todo razgo es funcional al conjunto integrado", "el conjunto es una integración funcional cerrada en su totalidad". Estos tres postulados del funcionalismo han sido sometidos a análisis crítico por Robert K. Merton, quien propone como exigencias analíticas para una teoría de sistema, el concepto de disfunción (teoría de conflicto) y la teoría de alternativas funcionales (teoría del cambio y de la libertad).[3]

El grupo de Steward intenta trascender de la idiografía positivista de la escuela Boasiana que había dominado la antropología de Estados Unidos por muchas generaciones con una concepción dialéctica, con un punto de vista determinista en lo ecológico. Lo externo o contextual, es el ambiente; lo interno o inserto es el conjunto humano que se adapta tecnológicamente dentro de las alternativas que el ambiente permite. Esta postura que convierte el ambiente en objeto de transformación de la tecnología es análoga al modo de producción de la teoría Marxista. Cada opción ecológica o modo de producción exige un modo de control del proyecto de supervivencia. El modo de control o estructura de poder domina toda una estructura de relaciones sociales o convivencia, o, para usar el término de Steward, "nivel de integración socio-cultural". Steward define las formaciones sociales afines a las estructuras ecológicas "niveles de integración socio-cultural". El cambio en la historia lo conceptualiza en una perspectiva multi-evolucionista. Aplicado al análisis del material etnográfica de América del Sur, Steward logra establecer una correlación entre nivel de integración socio-cultural y la base ecológica. La base ecológica es transformación tecnológica de la matriz geográfica. La "causalidad" es típicamente Marxista. El concepto sirve bien los propósitos iniciales. Sirve para organizar el material etnológico en una perspectiva en el que el contexto infra-estructural acondiciona la super estructura cultural (formación social) en una dimensión histórica multievolucionista. Este acercamiento a la cultura desde el contexto estructural le habrá de facilitar la reorganización de todos los datos sobre culturas aborígenes del Nuevo Mundo en un esquema neo-evolucionista multilineal visto en el contexto de adaptaciones peculiares en cada zona ecológica publicado en el *Handbook of South American Indians*. Estas adaptaciones ecológicas se denominan en la teoría de Steward, sub-culturas, en analogía a los dialectos de una lengua. Esta visión de cultura como integración socio-cultural se aparta del atomismo idiográfico Boasiano trascendido en el funcionalismo. El "historicismo" Boasiano ya había fructiferado en el clásico *Patterns of Culture* de Ruth Benedict, que va al extremo opuesto del atomismo difusionista a la integración unilineal perfecta; a la armonía estática del modelo funcionalista de la cultura. Steward encuentra el justo medio en la dialecticidad del contexto estructural imponiendo sus limitaciones a los

3. Eduardo Seda, *Ethnopedagogy, Education for Cultural Awareness*. (San Francisco: Justa Publications, 1979).

proyectos de la convivencia. El contexto externo exige adaptaciones dentro de los límites ecológicos a los proyectos de convivencia de las comunidades y las clases.

La incapacidad del ciego para verse como ciego desde su realismo ingenuo tiende siempre a producir encerronas doctrinarias y así, se habrán de fascinar los estudiosos del proyecto de Steward en Puerto Rico con las diferencias "sub", olvidando las similaridades, "supra" -donde el "sub" está imbricado. En un esfuerzo *ad hoc* posterior; habrán de tratar de remediar el olvido del proyecto genérico de Pueblo de Puerto Rico con un capítulo sobre las "instituciones horizontales" que resulta en un insulto.

En mi tesis doctoral de 1957, traté de remediar la miopía que produce ese déficit, reagrupando todos los datos del estudio respecto a la familia en las comunidades, positivamente demostrando con los datos que existe un patrón normativo[4] general para el pueblo de Puerto Rico, que su sectarismo particularista les había impedido ver. Ese capítulo, *"The Normative Patterns of the Puerto Rican Family"* ha sido muy útil a muchos estudiosos pero nunca fue publicado, pues afirma la existencia de una cultura puertorriqueña que el sectarismo Marxista vulgar, en complicidad con la estructura del poder, quiere negar. En esta negación de la nacionalidad puertorriqueña, se juntan los que quieren negar la cultura puertorriqueña para justificar su imperialismo cultural. A la derecha reaccionaria, le interesa negar la existencia de la cultura puertorriqueña para así negarle personalidad al pueblo puertorriqueño. El colorario de esa posición es que siendo híbrido la cultura puertorriqueña, es parchos e hilachas derivado de la condición de híbrido biológica. Para el sector del Marxismo vulgar, la cultura es simple justificación del interés de clase. Desde esta perspectiva materialista vulgar, la posición de clase determina la conciencia, *ergo* hay más cultura en común entre los proletarios de Estados Unidos y los de Puerto Rico, que entre los burgueses de Puerto Rico y los proletarios de Puerto Rico. Llevado a sus conclusiones lógicas, esta posición implica que existen dos culturas en el mundo capitalista, la de los oprimidos y la de los opresores. De ahí surge el disparate de la cultura de la pobreza que convertiría a Oscar Lewis en *best seller* al presentar ante el mundo la vida de un prostituta puertorriqueña como representante auténtica de nuestra gente pobre. Este sectarismo Marxista vulgar con su concepción de hombre objeto de la historia incapaz de tomar conciencia de la historia para trascenderla se convertiría en mercancía altamente cotizable en el mercado reaccionario de la metropóli donde fomentar una imagen denigrada del emigrante puertorriqueño es condición necesaria para justificar la infamia en que se les hace vivir en los ghettos de Nueva York, Boston, y Chicago.

4. Eduardo Seda, "Normative Patterns of the Puerto Rican Family in Various Situational Contexts", revisada ahora como, "The Cultural Construction of Reality among Puerto Ricans", m.s.

Es de suponerse que de tener validez el modelo este de las dos culturas en el mundo capitalista, habría que esperar que hubiera una sola en el mundo socialista. Esto le haría las cosas muy fáciles a cualquiera de las étnias de la Unión Soviética que quisiera apoderarse de las estructuras de mando para imponer sobre las obras étnias su versión unicultural del socialismo. Creo que la opinión allí es precisamente la contraria, es decir, respetar y fomentar esas diferencias de expresión del carácter nacional de cada étnia particular en el concierto del pluralismo cultural. Aferrados a una ideología que niega la ideología como proyecto de reivindicación, los Marxistas vulgares no pueden ver que son las ideas del socialismo que el hombre en ejercicio de la libertad opta, y no "las condiciones materiales" lo que ha traído el socialismo. Allí donde las "condiciones materiales" estaban muy lejos de la que previó Marx como precondiciones para el socialismo, allí se dió el socialismo como proyecto conciente de idealistas. Las condiciones materiales del socialismo por si solas no producen ni producirán al hombre nuevo, al hombre de razón, de sensibilidad, humanidad y justicia, si se le sojuzga, si se le degrada en la opresión de dictaduras a nombre del proletariado. Hoy contemplamos con tristeza la brutalización del hombre por el hombre enfrascado en violencia absurda, en odio fratricida que convierten el socialismo en házme reir ante la opinión de todos los hombres en los campos de batalla de Viet Nam invadido por tropas de China. Hablar de los pobres ignorando que si hay pobres es porque hay ricos y que el quehacer de uno determina el quehacer complementario del otro, habría de ser mercancía altamente cotizada. Si hay ricos que reciben la plusvalía del trabajo de los pobres, la cultura de ambos implica una complementaridad, eso se ignora.

Desde esta concepción de hombre objeto de sus intereses de clase, inconciente del fenómeno histórico para el ejercicio de la libertad, resulta imposible entender que ha sido el proyecto de la nación y no el de la lucha de clases el móvil de los movimientos socialistas en donde ha triunfado Viet Nam, Korea, China, Cuba, U.R.S.S., Angola, etc. El sectarismo Marxista vulgar no acaba de darse cuenta que las famosas proletarias que Marx coloca en la vanguardia de la historia no han producido un sólo estado socialista y que quienes los han producido han sido campesinos, intelectuales, y la pequeña burguesía idealísticamente inspirados en el deseo de independencia nacional, el desarrollo auténtico, e igualdad humana en el socialismo como proyecto histórico conciente. A los de la "izquierda" dogmática, les es aplicable el irónico "mal anda la historia si no esta de acuerdo con mi teoría" o el de la dama de los Estados Unidos que anunció su "reconozco que hay un universo".

Estudiar la subcultura sin la cultura es como si alguien hiciera estudios de los dialectos de una comunidad lingüística y careciera de un concepto de lengua o de familia lingüística. Añadiría insulto a las laceraciones si luego tratara de "salvar" lo inadecuado de su teoría, echando la culpa a la gente

de no hablar una lengua porque en efecto lo que las personas hablan son idiolectos. El elefante así sería pelos, ni siquiera trompa o barriga.

Los informes etnológicos de las comunidades seleccionadas para estudio sin duda tienen valor. Pero no fueron confeccionados para lo que pretendería ser el título del libro donde se recogen estos estudios, un informe del proyecto histórico del pueblo de Puerto Rico. Es cierto que cada uno de los investigadores de campo tenía un libreto de categorías que no eran categorías sino tópicos ambiguamente definidos sin señalamiento de indicadores específicos. Recuerdo algunos tópicos, -settlement pattern, sex typing, money and market, crops, etc. Resultaba que cada tópico era cosa aparte porque lo que nos interesaba ver era como la tecnología y el ambiente exigían adaptaciones para formar las áreas culturales, aquí llamados sub-culturas. El estudio carecía de una teoría de cultura como óptica y praxis del proyecto intersubjetivo al nivel de pueblo. Desde esta perspectiva, el compuesto nacional se obtenía de la suma de sus "partes", la Mona Lisa es así igual a horas de trabajo y botes de pintura, y La Torre igual a la suma de los ladrillos que la componen. Habían equiparado la noción de proyecto histórico del pueblo con los estudios de *national character,* según lo definían los sicofantes con sombrero de antropólogos de esa época. Los estudios de *National Character* partían de la armonía ideológica del *Patterns of Culture* de Ruth Benedict. Había un mercado ávido demandando ese producto espureo del intelecto antropológico, y se conferían distinciones y oportunidades al que lo produjera, en beneficio del esfuerzo de la guerra fría. Hoy, casi 40 años más tarde, se ha progresado mucho en la antropología cognoscitiva pero quedan muchos rezagos y resabios intrascendentes. Son particularidades doctrinarias que se generan en la profesión como resultado del acondicionamiento o domesticación "intelectual", producto del contexto estructural del poder. Algún día surgirá la antropología del Tercer Mundo como una fuerza para balancear los abusos de poder del *establishment* antropológico de Estados Unidos.

La sub-cultura del grupo que estamos estudiando bajo el liderato de Julián Steward tenía una actitud crítica frente a la multitud de platitudes periodísticas que con metodología Boasiana se acumulaban en los legajos de la cultura antropológica de esa época. Esos legajos por cierto todavía siguen en manos de Boasianos que venden sus productos a una clientela ávida de excitación en las trivialidades de lo exótico y lo erótico. A la par con lo exótico y lo erótico estan los estudios racistas que llenan una buena parte de las páginas del *American Anthropologist* y el *Current Anthropology*. A mi me consta que individualmente, Eric Wolf, Bob Manners, y Elena Padilla tenían posiciones contrarias al coloniaje pero consideraban válida la hipocrecía Weberiana de la neutralidad ética del investigador. ¿Qué puede significar la neutralidad ética frente a estructuras de poder capaces de sobornar conciencias? Aparecen las prebendas; de inmediato aparecen en bandadas los sicofantes para confirmar el *slogan* del momento, si eso es lo

que le conviene a los que mandan con fondos de fundaciones para hacer *"research"*, si eso es lo que quieren los que dominan las oportunidades para publicar en "Revistas Científicas", si es lo que patrocinan los que controlan los empleos y los medios para fomentar la imagen de sabihondo y las múltiples consultorias en el frondoso batatal de las universidades. Hablar de neutralidad ética de un médico frente a la enfermedad *del* organismo es renunciar a la implementación en la praxis, que es igual a renunciar a objetivo de la ciencia. Toda teoría es explicación de acción en opción con criterios de validez y confiabilidad. Lo que tiene valor positivo tiene prioridad en la escala de prioridades que determina la fenomenología del quehacer y su justificación (óptica y praxis). Sin conciencia de prioridades que descansen en la conciencia de los valores, se cae en la improvisación, en el existencialismo vulgar. Los que tienen el poder, tienen valores; no son éticamente neutrales. Para ellos tiene prioridad valorativa la repetición de un pasado que les garantice los privilegios que gozan, aunque sea en perjuicio de los muchos que sufren la inequidad que es necesario cometer para asegurar sus privilegios. El móvil de la investigación social no puede ser ganar dinero o conseguir reconocimiento profesional o posiciones en la docencia universitaria, complaciendo a los que tienen el poder para emplear y pagar por la docencia o por los estudios y hacer reconocimiento profesional.

El caso más burdo de la demanda en el mercado ideológico de los poderosos por la mercancía del Marxismo vulgar que niega la existencia de la nacionalidad puertorriqueña se da, cuando a Sidney Mintz le incorporan a la Comisión de Status[5] a testificar con título de experto en nuestra cultura. Para Mintz, no existe la cultura puertorriqueña y por tanto, no existe el pueblo de Puerto Rico. Para Mintz, la cultura se convierte en lista de razgos a la usanza de los difusionistas y anticuarios de museos. En estas listas de razgos, el tenedor de comer y el cuchillo, el arroz y la habichuela ocupan en la escala de valores culturales el mismo lugar que la lengua, la religión, el compadraje, y el personalismo político. Con esta lista de razgos, Mintz concluirá que no existe una cultura puertorriqueña porque los pobres y los ricos no comen lo mismo ni tienen los mismos utensilios de mesa. Esta reificación de la relación de explotación de los pobres por los ricos se convierte ahora en una diferencia "cultural", y es de suponer que se arreglaría si los pobres adquirieran "la cultura" de los ricos sin resolver el problema estructural de la explotación. Esta es mercancía de primera calidad para los poderosos de este mundo. Ante la postura de Mintz, la substitución de la cultura puertorriqueña como proyecto histórico del

5. Sidney Mintz, "Puerto Rico: An Essay in the Definition of a National Culture". In *Selected Background Studies,* prepared for the United States - Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico; II, 339-434. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

pueblo puertorriqueño, es opción tan razonable como la substitución que proponía Víctor Clark de nuestro vernáculo y por razones similares:[6]

> Otro punto importante que no debe pasarse por alto es que la mayoría de las personas de esta isla no habla un español puro. Su lenguaje es un 'patois' casi ininteligible a los nativos de Barcelona y Madrid. Carece de literatura propia y como medio intelectual es muy pobre. Hay una remota posibilidad de que puede ser tan fácil educar esta gente de su 'patois' al inglés como sería el educarlos en la elegante lengua de Castilla. Solamente de parte de una minoría intelectual puertorriqueña muy pequeña y que se ha educado en Europa y está permeada de los ideales de educación y gobierno europeo, podríamos esperar alguna resistencia a la introducción del sistema educacional americano y del idioma inglés.

El imperialismo cultural adquiere así relevancia en el proyecto histórico como opción respetable. Mintz va más allá de esto. Mintz "descubre" que el racismo en Santa Isabel no es "biológico" como es Estados Unidos sino que es "social". Ahora por fiat científico los amos imperialistas definen su "superioridad" en términos de la biología, no el resultado del dominio de los medios de acondicionar la óptica y la praxis, no el resultado de la implementación de prácticas racistas. El hombre de la metropoli no es hombre de la historia, es superhombre de la biología, y los hombres colonizados son ahora infra hombres, innatamente inferiores. Sus categorías racistas son míticas, pues las innatas son las de los amos de este mundo. Esto es otra mercancía que habrá de cotizar con alto valor el *establishment* de poder profesional en la antropología. Ahora por fiat "científico" quedaba demostrado que el racismo en Estados Unidos se hereda y no se adquiere en la cultura. En Puerto Rico, no hay verdadero racismo: ¿Cómo podría haberlo si todos somos infra-hombres, "negros"? Si hay racismo de negro a otro negro, eso no es por herencia biológica, sino por consideraciones "sociales" y por lo tanto no es racismo. Si hay racismo de un "blanco" (léase norteamericano) hacia un infra-hombre colonial, eso no es mito, eso es realidad innata. Este tan altamente cotizado mito de la herencia biológica del racismo en Estados Unidos y de su refuerzo "social" en Puerto Rico llega a tales extremos que Melvin Tumin,[7] *ex cátedra* en una conferencia sobre etnicidad en Estados Unidos, nos dice que en Puerto Rico no existe el racismo; aquí todos somos negros. Su prototipo de negro es nada menos que Luis Muñoz Marín. Con categorías de óptica racista puertorriqueña, Tumin quedaría en comparación con Muñoz Marín en la

6. Aida Negrón de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public School System, 1900-1930.* (Río Piedras: Editorial Edil, Inc., 1970).

7. *Pluralism in a Democratic Society*, ed. Melvin Tumin & Walter Plotch, (New York; Praeger, 1977).

posición de "más negro". Eso le dije en esa conferencia, pero por ahora el poder le da a el la capacidad para definir al elefante de la historia y convertirlo en lujoso trono y sitial de mando en la loma más alta. En el libro recién publicado sobre los "proceedings" de esa conferencia, mi ponencia sería suprimida.[8]

La supuesta candidez de los puertorriqueños respecto al racismo se *convertiría* en asidero para la fama de todo el que quisiera pregonar a los cuatro vientos del mundo la supuesta "democracia racial" de Puerto Rico. Seríamos así andando él tiempo los negros más "alegres" y complacientes que pudieran tener a su haber, los blancos de Estados Unidos. El que quisiera renombre profesional en las ciencias sociales de Puerto Rico tendría que comenzar por ahí. Algo similar ocurrió en Brasil cuando a Gilberto Freyre[9] lo convirtieron en gran sabihondo de la antropología cuando pregonaba ante el mundo que "el negro en Brasil, estaba cerca del cielo" con los angelitos negros. Si no hay racismo en el mundo colonial, es porque no hay explotación que sea preciso encubrir con el racismo. El racismo de los poderosos amos imperialistas ahora se nos convierte en derecho natural, obligado por la herencia biológica, no por la construcción social de la realidad.[10]

Estas *distorsiones* permanecerían por años, no empece mis escritos críticos al respecto sobre el caso de Puerto Rico y los de Octavio *Ianni* sobre el Brasil.[11] El golpe de gracia en Puerto Rico lo logró asestar el colega y amigo Isabelo Zenón Cruz[12] y esa es deuda de gratitud que contrae nuestro pueblo con el.

Lo aleccionador de todo lo dicho es que existe una estructura de poder que controla los fondos para las investigaciones, los puestos en las universidades, que cierra y abre puertas en los journals profesionales, en la industria de publicación de libros. Esas puertas conducen a la fama y a la reputación profesional a todos los que traigan mercancías de "valor" para la continuidad del poder imperialista. Esas puertas se abren a los que le sirven a los intereses de los poderosos de este mundo y se cierran a los que plantean con sentido crítico la cuestión del privilegio de los pocos que se sostienen a base del sufrimiento y de perjuicio de los muchos, inclusive el perjuicio de la disciplina como ciencia. En el esclarecimiento de estas cuestiones en el futuro surgirá la confrontación y la promesa de una

8. E. Seda, "The Paradox of the Unmeltable Pseudo Ethnics." In *Ethnopedagogy, Education for Cultural Awareness.* (San Francisco: Justa Publications, 1979)

9. Gilberto Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties.* (New York: Knopf, 1963).

10. Octavio Ianni, *Racas e Classes Sociais no Brasil.* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilizacao Brasileira, 1966).

11. Isabelo Zenón Cruz, *Narciso Descubre su Trasero.* (Humacao, P.R., Ediciones Furidi, 1975 y 1976).

12. E. Seda, "Race and Racism in Society and in the Science of Culture", ms.

verdadera ciencia de la cultura. Ese *establishment* del poder existió antes y sigue existiendo en función de pervertir el pensamiento antropológico para convertir la docencia y la investigación en ideologías que sirven para justificar el disfrute de intereses mezquinos de las clases parasiticas y de los países explotadores de los bienes que produce el trabajo de las clases y los países oprimidos. Es por eso que es preciso crear una asociación de antropólogos del Tercer Mundo, comprometida con la verdad en contra de la mentira y el fraude a nombre de la ciencia. Esa asociación de antropología del Tercer Mundo tendría que enfrentarse al fraude intelectual de los antropólogos y sociólogos del *establishment* imperialista que han tomado a bien la misión original de la antropología como ámbito para adiestrar administradores coloniales. Orlando Fals Borda de Colombia,[13] Guillermo Bonfil, Arturo Warman, Margarita Nolasco en México,[14] Anselme Remy en Haití,[15] y Hugo Tolentino en Santo Domingo y muchos otros ya han contestado "presente" a ese reclamo de la historia y no está lejos el día en que los que hoy permanecemos detrás de la cortina del silencio del pensamiento cautivo, podamos encontrar un medio de expresión y un estímulo para una nueva jornada en la historia del pensamiento.

En resumen, concluímos diciendo que para la época en que fuera escrito, la obra del grupo de Steward con la excepción del informe de Sidney Mintz, es un paso adelante hacia una antropología dialéctica, donde la cultura no se hereda biológicamente ni se difunde como hilachas y remiendos sin ton ni son, ni es escala de desarrollo unilineal al estilo evolucionista del siglo XIX, ni concierto mayor del modelo estático del funcionalismo. Los informes de comunidades son válidos qua comunidades. Su limitación principal estriba en que el método etnográfico tiene óptica para ver eventos particulares pero es miope cuando se trata de la conexión de estos eventos al contexto estructural, del "Poder como Agente de Socialización".[16] Por estar tan ideograficamente dirigido al evento local, se pierde el sentido de los eventos en el panorama general de la cultura. Esa misma les impide tomar posiciones críticas frente al mito del "Milagro de Puerto Rico" que se pregonaba en esa época por las cuatro esquinas del mundo, como modelo para el desarrollismo económico.

Tenemos que concluir que el libro de Steward se pudo haber llamado *The Culture Areas of Native Puerto Rico,* y no *The People of Puerto Rico.* No hay esfuerzo alguno por ver la integración de los proyectos de

13. Orlando Fals Borda, *Ciencia Propia y Colonialismo Intelectual.* (México: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1970).

14. Arturo Warman et al. *De Eso que Llaman Antropología Mexicana.* (México: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1970).

15. Anselme Remy, "Anthropology: For Whom and for What", ms.

16. E. Seda, "The Socializing Functions of Power in Puerto Rican Society", In James Adalberto López & James Petras, *Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans.* (New York: Wiley, 1974).

convivencia local con el proyecto de la convivencia nacional, ni el rebote *diálectico* de ambos a la estructura de poder de la metropoli. En esto, hay una cuestión de responsabilidad, no con la comunidad académica que recibe este trabajo en función de verificación de una fenomenología que los guardabarreras del poder en la disciplina antropológica aplauden o *aplastan,* sino la responsabilidad con la gente a quien se estudia. En esa época recién comenzaba, la operación entrega de los bienes nacionales a empresas transnacionales. Es fin de la euforia de la década de 1940, y comienzo de la disforia en la huelga universitaria y la separación del respaldo independentista al Partido Popular. Todavía en esa época no teníamos revistas traducidas del inglés como una que encontré esta semana en la oficina de un dentista con el título de ***Buen Hogar*** y con una lista de artículos tales como:

"El Sexo antes del Matrimonio"
"Menús Frescos, Ligeros, y Deliciosos para el Postre"

No hay en el libro de Steward una posición crítica frente a los procesos de deterioro humano que habrían de caracterizar el futuro puertorriqueño.[17] Volviendo al plano anecdótico, recuerdo que Muñoz Marín, que era gobernador de Puerto Rico en esa época, nos invitó a varios miembros del proyecto antropológico a una recepción en La Fortaleza y durante la cena hizo una predicción muy acertada sobre la historia futura de la isla. Dijo que el Partido Popular crearía una clase media y que esa clase media derrotaría al Partido Popular. La fábrica de asimilistas no es pues un concepto que descubrió Rubén Berríos. Lo conocía Muñoz que fue el que lo engendró como realidad, lo bendijo y lo hizo fructiferar como proyecto de su hacer político. Es otro dato muy curioso que el estudio que más claramente entra en esta cuestión tan candente de la asimilación cultural es el de la clase alta de San Juan de Raymond Scheele. Es curioso que eso de la *asimilación* se ha relegado al mundo de lo inocuo, al limbo de lo no existencial, para ser redescubierto por Enrique Laguerre en su novela, *El Fuego y su Aire.* Creo que el mismo Scheele desapareció del mundo antropológico después de este estudio y se dedicó a la crianza de perros de raza. Que se cuide el amigo Laguerre no vaya a tocarle un destino similar en el mundo de los muertos en vida por atreverse a ver el verdadero traje del emperador.

17. E. Seda, *Réquiem para una Cultura.* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Bayoán, 1974).

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